

**THE
MADURA
COUNTRY
A MANUAL**

FIVE PARTS IN
ONE VOLUME



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THE MARAVANS or inhabitants of the two Zamindâris, and perhaps the oldest caste in the country, are nowadays only about half as numerous as the Vellâlans: whereas two or three hundred years ago they must have been by far the most numerous, as they were undoubtedly the most powerful of all the castes in the Pândya country. History shows clearly that the Kings of Râmnâd in the seventeenth century held a very good position amongst the potentates of the south; and a letter of a Jesuit missionary, which will be referred to in the proper place, shows that at that time the King of Râmnâd could assemble an army of as many as 40,000 Maravans within one or two days' time. How comes it then that in 1850-51 there were only something less than 80,000 Maravans in the whole District? I think the race must have been almost killed off by perpetually recurring famines. In 1814 Mr. Turnbull, a Surveyor, reported officially that in consequence of terrible distress 150,000 souls, it was calculated, had emigrated from the Râmnâd and Sivagangei countries in the three or four years preceding: whilst Colonel Fullarton, in his Report dated 7th January 1785, only thirty years before, described the country as being both well cultivated and well peopled. Whatever may have been the reason, there can be no doubt of the fact that the numbers of the Maravâns have been woefully reduced; and that they are no longer what they once were, a fine and numerous race.

With regard to the origin of the Maravans, it is to be observed that there exists amongst them a picturesque tradition to the effect, that in consequence of them assisting Râma in his war against the demon Râvana, that deity gratefully exclaimed in good Tamil *maravén* or "I will never forget;" and that they have ever since been called Maravans. But with more probability the name may be connected with the word *maram* (மரம்) which means killing, ferocity, bravery and the like, as pointing clearly to their unpleasant profession, that of robbing and slaying their neighbours.

The Maravans inhabit the great Zamindâris, and particularly the tracts lying near the sea coast. History shows that in old times they were a fierce and turbulent race, and the terror of their neighbours; and they gave the British much trouble at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. But their habits have much changed in the last sixty years: and they are now much like other ryots, though perhaps somewhat more bold and lawless. They live almost entirely by cultivation, and are considered to be one of the lowest of the respectable castes, although the Sêthupatis of Râmnâd and the Râjas of Sivagangei have always been men of the Marava caste. The Jesuits at one time made many converts amongst them, and appear to have regarded them as a very promising race: but they seem to have found out that their opinion was erroneous.

The most full description extant of the Maravans appears to be that contained in the Marava-Jathi Vernanam (*sic*) translated by the indefatigable Mr. Taylor at page 354 of the 4th Volume of the Madras Journal; and it will be well to give here a few particulars gathered principally therefrom.

It seems that there are seven well-marked subdivisions of the caste, viz:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. The 'Sembu-nâttu | Maravans. |
| 2. The Kondayan-kôttei | do. |
| 3. The Apanûr-nâttu | do. |
| 4. The Agatâ | do. |
| 5. The Ôrûr (? Oreiyûr) nâttu | do. |
| 6. The Upu-kôttei | do. |
| 7. The Kurichi-kattu | do. |

And amongst these subdivisions the first is the principal. There are also other and minor subdivisions, which it is unnecessary to specify.

The religion of the Maravans is nominally the Saiva: but they worship with zeal and fervour only their own peculiar demons, Karuppana-Sâmi, B'hadra-kâli, Mathurei Vîran, and others, which they habitually propitiate with offerings of liquor, flesh, and fruits. And they themselves freely eat flesh and drink liquor, in direct opposition to the precepts of the Saiva faith. Their customs differ fundamentally from those of ordinary Hindûs in many important matters. In the first place they permit intermarriage between cousins whose two fathers are brothers. Then except in the case of the women of the Sembu-nâttu division, it is customary for widows to re-marry, and for wives who cannot agree with their husbands to procure divorce from them and marry again. It was customary for the widows of the Sêthupati and of the Sembu-nâttu Maravans generally to practise Satî, until prevented by the British Government; but not for those of any of the other divisions.

The manner of performing the marriage ceremony is very peculiar. After a marriage has been agreed to by the principal members of two families, a few of the relations of the intended bridegroom go to the house of the bride, and there with or without the bridegroom and bride's consent tie upon her neck the *tâli*, the *insigne* of matrimonial union, whilst conch shells are being loudly blown outside. After this they escort her to the house of the bridegroom, who usually but not necessarily awaits their coming. A feast is then given to the friends of both parties, which lasts for a few days according to the means of the giver; processions are formed through the town; a cocoanut is broken before Vig'hnêshwara; and certain ceremonies are performed under a marriage *pandal* or booth. If however the parties be too poor to afford all these rites and entertainments, the tying of the *tâli* alone is performed at first; and the man and woman begin to cohabit forthwith: but at some time the other ceremonies must certainly be performed, and as the phrase goes "the defect must be cured." Some times the ancillary ceremonies will take place after the wife has born three or four children. And should the husband happen to die before he can afford to cure the defect, his friends and relations will at once borrow some money, and the marriage will be duly completed in his presence and in behalf of the corpse, which must be placed on a seat with the woman and be made to represent a bridegroom. The *tâli* is then taken off, and the widow is free to marry again as soon as she may please.

All Maravans bear the title of Têvan, which I suppose corresponds with the Déva and Dêwa of more northern countries.

The relative position of the Sêthupati, or head of the Maravans and hereditary ruler of Râmnâd, as respects caste and birth, appears from the following rules of court etiquette. The Râja Tondiman of Puthu-kôttei, the Râja of Sivagangei, and the eighteen chiefs of the Tanjore country must stand before him with the palms of their hands joined together and stretched out towards the presence. The chiefs of Tinnevely, such as Katabôma Nâyakkan of Panjâla-Kuricchi, Serumali Nâyakkan of Kadal-kudei, and the Tokkala Tottiyans, being all of inferior caste, should prostrate themselves full length before the Sêthupati; and after rising must stand and not be seated. But the Sillavas and others of Ettiyâpuram; and the Marava chiefs of Vadagarei, Shokkampatti, Uttumalei, Settûru, Sarandei and other tracts; and the Vanniya chiefs of Sivagiri of seven thousand fields, and of Dalavan-kôttei; all these make no obeisance of any kind to the ruler of Râmnâd.

The dress of the Maravans is peculiar in some respects. They wear the hair very long. With the exception of the chiefs, both men and women lengthen the lobes of their ears to the extent of several inches, by hanging weights in them; and wear attached to them wonderfully large and heavy metal ornaments. The men generally wear handkerchiefs round the head, and never tie turbands. The rulers of the tribes on special occasions wear turbands, handsome silk robes, and gorgeous jewels, according to the ordinary customs of Hindûs.

Properly speaking every Maravan should be a warrior, and should hold lands on a Military tenure. At the time when the MS. from which the above description is taken was written, the following was the scale upon which lands were granted by the Sêthupati and other chiefs to their dependants. An ordinary foot soldier carrying a sword and spear was granted a piece of land capable of yielding him per annum five *kalams* of rice; a musketeer was granted land yielding seven *kalams*; a *Sarboji* bearer land yielding nine; and a captain of a hundred men land yielding fifty. Out of the produce of these lands a tribute of five fanams was payable to the chief for each *kalam* of produce raised.

Of the Maravans who are not soldiers by profession, a portion ought properly to serve in the Palace and Public Offices, enjoying a remission of tribute as remuneration for their services; the remainder should live by cultivating lands, paying the tax universally prevalent

throughout the Zamindâris until late years, namely the *vârisai-vâram* or amount of grain payable in good and bad seasons alike, and calculated on the ascertained average yield of the land held.

Many other interesting particulars might be given touching the manners and customs of this primitive tribe: but I have already exceeded my available space, and must pass on to another tribe.

Eleven Maravans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph, and the following were the results obtained, viz :—

No.	Age.	Height.		CIRCUMFERENCE OF										Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
				Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.			
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	52	5	8½	1	9	1	1½	2	10½	0	10½	1	6½	147	Taller and heavier than most of the castes.
2	22	5	4½	1	9	1	0	2	8¾	0	8¼	1	3¼	99	
3	25	5	5	1	9¼	1	1	2	10	0	9¼	1	5½	118	
4	35	6	0	1	8¾	1	0	2	8¾	0	8¼	1	3¾	117½	
5	30	5	4½	1	9½	1	0½	2	8¼	0	9	1	5	110	
6	35	5	7½	1	9½	1	0¾	2	7½	0	9¼	1	4¾	121	
7	45	5	5	1	8¾	1	0½	2	6½	0	8½	1	5	112	
8	20	5	3½	1	8½	1	0½	2	8	0	8½	1	4¾	121	
9	30	5	3	1	8	1	1	2	8	0	8½	1	6	115½	
10	30	5	2	1	8	0	11½	2	6½	0	7½	1	1½	85½	
11	35	5	4½	1	8¼	1	¼	2	7½	0	8	1	5½	109¼	
Total. . . .		59	11¾	19	0½	11	5½	29	6¼	7	11½	15	3¼	1,255¾	
Average.		5	5½ ⁹ / ₁₆	1	8½ ⁷ / ₈	1	0½	2	8¾ ⁹ / ₁₆	0	8½ ⁵ / ₈	1	4¾ ⁹ / ₁₆	114¾ ⁷ / ₈	

THE AHAMBADIYANS as shown in the legend given above are closely connected with the Maravans by descent: and they also resemble them most closely in appearance, habits and customs. The chiefs of the Maravans are accustomed to marry Ahambadiya women: and of the children born of such marriages, the males must marry Ahambadiya females, and belong to their wives' caste; whilst the females must marry Maravans, and belong to their husband's caste.

The ordinary agnomen or titular name of an Ahambadiyan is *Sêrvei-kâran*.

The Ahambadiyans are a trifle less numerous than the Maravans; as they are a trifle inferior to them in estimation.

No.	Age.			Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.		Weight in pounds	Remarks.
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	27	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	118	Compare with Marava statement.
2	38	5	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	8	1	11	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	92	
3	30	5	9	1	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	3	3	0	0	11	1	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	163	
4	24	5	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	1 $\frac{13}{16}$	2	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	109 $\frac{1}{2}$	
5	18	5	3 $\frac{13}{16}$	1	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	5	102	
6	24	5	6 $\frac{9}{16}$	1	10	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	119	
7	30	5	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	11	0	10	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	125	
8	32	5	8 $\frac{5}{8}$	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	0	2	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	108	
9	25	5	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	1	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	8	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	94	
10	25	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4	103	
11	38	5	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	1	9	1	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	91	
12	35	5	5	1	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Total...		64	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	20	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	32	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	8	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	16	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,324 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Average..		5	4 $\frac{3}{8}$	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{3}{8}$	2	8 $\frac{0}{16}$	0	8 $\frac{1}{16}$	1	4 $\frac{1}{16}$	110 $\frac{1}{8}$	

THE KALLANS (Orme's Colliers) are in many respects the most remarkable of all the castes in the Madura District, and require a rather lengthy notice as having played an important part in history.

Their profession is said to be that of stealing with or without violence according to circumstances, and their name *Kallan* which is also that for a thief or robber in several of the languages of Southern India is supposed to have been given to them as indicative of their peculiar mode of earning a livelihood. Now without going so far as to declare that this so generally prevalent idea is incorrect, I must say there are some grounds for doubting its correctness; and shall state them shortly hereafter in the proper place.

The history of the caste has been given with some fulness in the Survey Account, and it will be well before describing their very curious manners and customs to give the substance of the information which the report contains, observing at the same time by way of preface that its statements do not altogether agree with those of the authorities followed in Part IV of this work.

According to Ward's Survey Account the Kallans belong to two main divisions, that of the *Kūl Nādu* or eastern country, and that of the *Mēl Nādu* or western country. The *Kūl Nādu* comprises the *Nādus* of *Mēlūr*, a village situated about sixteen miles east of Madura, *Vellalūr* and *Sirugudi*: and its inhabitants, whose agnomen is usually *Ambalakāran*, are the descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country in the following circumstances. Some Kallans belonging to the *Vella* (*Vala*?) *Nādu* near *Kānchipuram* (*Conjeveram*) came down south with a number of dogs on a grand hunting expedition, armed with their peculiar weapons, pikes, bludgeons and *Vallari Thadis* on boomerangs. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Mēlūr*, whilst they were engaged in their sport, they observed a peacock showing fight to one of their dogs, and thinking from this circumstance that the country must be a fortunate country and one favorable to bodily strength and courage, they determined to settle in it. Accordingly they entered into negotiations with the *Vellālans* who were lords of the soil, and eventually took service under them. In the course of time they invited their relatives and friends to come and join them, and a numerous Kalla community gradually sprang up.

The masters and servants did not succeed in living amicably together. The Kallans behaved or were thought to behave badly, and were frequently punished for their misdoings; they resisted and retaliated; and at last they compelled their masters to draw up a set of rules for their (the Kallans') protection.

These rules were the following:—

1. If a Kallan lost a tooth through a blow given by his master, the latter was to be fined ten Kali Chakrams.
2. If a Kallan had his ear torn under punishment, his master must pay a fine of six Kali Chakrams.
3. If a Kallan had his skull fractured, his master must pay thirty Chakrams, or in default have his own skull fractured.
4. If a Kallan had his arm or leg broken, his master must pay a fine of twenty Chakrams, give the injured man a certain amount of grain, cloths, &c., and likewise grant him in fee-simple as much Nanjey land as could be sown with a kalam of seed, and two kurukams of Punjey land.
5. If a Kallan were killed, his master must pay a fine of one hundred Chakrams, or in default be put at the mercy of the murdered man's relatives.

As might be expected, the Vellâlans' hold over the Kallans was very soon lost after the promulgation of these rules; and in the course of time the Vellâlans were reduced to great poverty, and eventually ousted bodily from their possessions. Many of them were

also treacherously murdered, and the remainder were forced to emigrate. After this the Kallans called their newly acquired territory *Than-arasu Nâdu* or the "independent country," and set the then Government at defiance.

And they showed respect only to the Alagar-Swâmi or God of the great Alagar-Kôvil, to whom they habitually make large offerings and whom they have always regarded as their own peculiar Deity.

In the time of the Kartâkkal, that is to say the Nâyakkan dynasty, the Kallans steadily refused to pay tribute, arguing always when called upon to pay like other castes that "The Heavens supplied the earth with rain, their cattle ploughed the land, and they cultivated it, and therefore there was no possible reason why they should pay anything." And their conduct was generally so violent and aggressive that bodies of troops marching from Trichinopoly to Tinnevely

or *vice versa* found it expedient to avoid the direct road through the Mēlûr Nâdu and chose a circuitous route.

In the reign of Vijaya Raghunâtha Sêthupathi the Kallans made a raid into his kingdom, and drove off two thousand head of cattle. This audacity so greatly enraged the Sêthupathi that he forthwith established nine fortresses in the heart of the robbers' country, and having lulled them into a sense of security by all kinds of deceitful promises, contrived at last to get them into his power, and massacred a vast number of them in cold blood.

This scarcely justifiable proceeding broke the spirit of the chiefs of the survivors, and they afterwards paid their respects annually to the Sêthupathi in company with the Kalla Chiefs of the neighbouring Nâdu of Mallang-kôttei which lay within the Sêthupathi's dominions. But they continued nevertheless to be independent of the Government, *i. e.*, the Madura Government, until the year 1772.

During the period of Mohammad Yûsuf Khân's administration a temporising policy was adopted by that able ruler of men in his dealings with the Mēlûr Kallans, and though he built a fort at Mēlûr and another at Vellâlapatti, he did not attempt to exact tribute from them; but contented himself with fomenting jealousies amongst the principal men of the caste, and teaching them to habitually refer their disputes to him as the common mediator and supreme arbitrator. By this means he succeeded in keeping them in tolerably good order, and no doubt attached them to his cause when at last he found it necessary to rebel against the Nabob Mohammad Ali.

After the execution of Mohamnad Yûsuf Khân, and the termination of the Poligar war in Tinnevely, it was found necessary to send a considerable force against the Mêlûr Kallans under the command of Captain Rumley. This officer was a man of ability and of an iron will: and after burning their principal villages, and mercilessly slaying about three thousand men women and children in a single day, he soon succeeded in reducing the refractory Nâttâns or heads of the Nâdus to obedience. This however was but a short-lived success; and strongly coercive measures became once more necessary. Captain Rumley now resolved to compel the Nâttâns to pay an annual tribute at the same rate as those of Mallang-kôttei; and after expending much time and labor upon the business, and ~~after another~~ massacre, eventually succeeded in enforcing his plan. The Nâdus were then surveyed, and found to contain 400 cheys of

Nanjoy and 20,000 kurukkams of Punjey : and Captain Rumley marched away feeling satisfied that his presence was no longer required.

In 1781 occurred the memorable disturbances consequent on Hyder Ali's descent upon Madras : and the Kallans took advantage of this opportunity to break out once more into rebellion, and commit the wildest excesses. They even went so far as to march upon Madura ; and Mallari Rañ, the Nabob's general, was killed in an affair under the very walls of the city.

Nothing could be done for some time : but in 1784 Captain Oliver came upon the Kallans with a detachment, and speedily overawed them. Shortly afterwards the Nâdus were again surveyed by Mr. Torin, the Collector in charge of the Tinnevely, Madura and Mēlūr Districts, and found to contain 6,000 cheys of Nanjoy and 20,000 kurukkams of Punjey.

From 1786 to 1790 the Nabob's Amaldârs were charged annually ; and the Kallans were enabled under that system to maintain their independence.

In 1791 Mr. McLeod took them in hand and by promises induced them to pay up arrears.

From 1793 to 1801 there were no less than ten different officers in charge of the administration of the Madura country and consequently the Kallans did much as they pleased.

In 1801 the District was finally incorporated with the Company's

In 1801 the District was finally incorporated with the Company's territories: and from that time forth the Kallans have given but little trouble.

The history of the Mēl Nādu or west country Kallans is told as follows. About the year 1640 the great Tirumala Nāyakkan granted to certain Kallans of Mēlūr some *māniams* and the right of collecting *kāvali* or watching fees from the District of Thirumbūr near Madura, in consideration of their protecting the same from robbery and deeds of violence. Relying upon this grant the recipients encroached step by step, until at last they or their descendants penetrated as far as the village of Āneyūr, and there firmly established themselves. In the course of time they grew estranged from the parent stock, and were distinguished as the Āneyūr or Mēl Nādu Kallans. Their agnomen is usually Tēvan, as is that of the Mara-

vans. They have gradually pushed their way from village to village, until they have reached the extreme end of the great valley of Dindigul.

Such is the history of the Kallans as recorded in the Survey Account, and supposing the earlier part of it to be based on traditional accounts, it is satisfactory to find that it is not inconsistent with the tradition touching the first coming of the Kallans noticed at page 28 ante, whilst it varies from it to so great an extent as to rebut the suggestion that it is one with it, but modified by the caprice or forgetfulness of its narrator. There seems to be good ground for the inference that the Kallans came into the District at a period subsequent to the great immigration of the Vellālans described at page 28 ante; that they quarreled with the Vellālans, and finally succeeded in ousting them from their hereditary estates; and that they lived ever afterwards in a state of more or less antagonism to the ruling power at Madura.

I must now notice another tradition current in the District, which is to the effect that few Kallans were settled in the Pândya country before the time of the pseudo-Pândyas, the sons of Ab'hirâmi the Dancing girl of Kâleiyâr-kôvil; and that those pretenders invited Kallans to come from the Chôla-mandalam, and employed them as mercenary troops to operate against the then Government (see Part III, page 83); and that from that time forth the Kallans began to grow very numerous.

This story would seem to be in admirable accord with that told in the Survey Account: and to corroborate it very strongly. Nothing can be more probable than that the party in favor of the pretenders should have applied to the Kallans for assistance, and if they did so apply, the result would naturally be an influx into the country of numberless friends and clansmen of those Kallans. And such an influx would account satisfactorily for the circumstance, to which notice has been directed at page 30, that the Vellâlans had sunk into insignificance before the establishment of the Madura Mission at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

The sons of Ab'hirâmi and their immediate successors were ousted from Madura and established themselves securely in the neighbourhood of Srivelliputtûr in the Tinnevely District about the year 1500; and if the Kallans were their partisans, the circumstance would account for the presence of so many numbers of the caste in Tinnevely in the middle of the last century.

Two questions next present themselves for determination, namely :
 —1. Where did the Kallans come from originally ? and 2. In what circumstances did they unite with the Vallambans in an attack upon the Vellâlans ?

With regard to the first of these questions, it is observable that the Kallans are commonly found all over the south of the Presidency, that the word *Kallan* is common to the Kanarese, Telugu, Malayâlam and Tamil tongues ; that *Kallu* is a slang term used to mean stolen property by the Thugs of Central India ; that the Kallâris are a debased tribe in Malabar ; and that the *Kallu-bantru* or bands of Kallans are mentioned by the Abbé Dubois as infesting the country of Mysore. And the Catalogue Raisonné of Mr. Taylor contains several allusions to struggles for independence maintained by Kallans in various parts of the extreme south of India many centuries ago. It would seem to be not improbable therefore, looking to the bold and independent spirit which they have never failed to evince, that the Kallans were the last great aboriginal tribe of the south which successfully opposed the advancing tide of Hindûism ; and that they were never effectually overwhelmed. This is of course a mere suggestion, but where so little is known, a mere suggestion sometimes leads to important results.

It is observable that the term *Nâdu* meaning a small subdivision of a country, is considered in Madura to be a designation specially applicable to the Kalla tracts and to no other. It does not appear to be used in connection with tracts occupied by Vellâlans or even by the Maravans. But on the other hand it was evidently in common use over a considerable part of the Pândya-Mandalam about eight centuries ago, when probably the Vellâlans were as yet almost strangers in the land, and the Kallans had not yet made a settlement in it. And the tract round Madura was always known in the *Vala Nâdu* or excellent district of Madura. The inference is therefore that the term either was common to several of the primitive Tamil agricultural castes, or was used only by some pre-eminent aboriginal caste the history of which is now lost or hidden from view. Ellis' valuable paper on Mirâsi Right tells us that the system of dividing a country for Revenue purposes into *Kôttams* and *Nâdus* prevailed amongst the pastoral Kurumbans who were ousted and exterminated by Adondai Chakravarti, and was retained by their supplinters the Vellâlans. And Mr. Taylor in several parts of his Catalogue Raisonné

expresses an opinion to the effect that the Kurumbans and Kallans were one people. It would seem to be possible therefore that the Kurumbans introduced the term *Nādu* into the Pāndya-Mandalam at some time prior to the eleventh century, and were subsequently supplanted by the Vellālans : and that they were in turn ousted by a subdivision of the Kurumbans bearing the name of Kallans. If the Kurumbans of Tondamandalam were treated by Adondai in the manner described by Ellis, and were as he says a half-savage race, it is easy to understand them throwing off much of their civilization and revenging themselves on society by taking to the life of banditti. Perhaps too the Kurumbans of Madura were nearly exterminated by one of the Pāndyas with the help of the Vellālans introduced by him. The expression in the stanza which commemorates this immigration to the effect that it was with much difficulty that the arrangement was carried out, may well point to fearful struggles and bloody massacres. And if so, the circumstance would satisfactorily account for the ferocity and apparent ingratitude displayed by the Kallans towards their masters as above described.

It seems rather unlikely on the other hand that the term *Nādu* was used by all the early Tamil agricultural tribes, as I have found no traces of its use in the Madura country, except of course in those parts of it which belong principally to Kallans ; none indeed in any part of the District lying outside the course of Kalla migrations. But then the term *Kōttam* does not appear to be known in the District, unless we may suppose that the common term *Kōttei* was a local expression precisely equivalent thereto, in which case division into the Kurumba system of *Nādus* and *Kōttams* may perhaps be traced in several parts of the District.

I must now leave these speculations, useful only as threads to be gathered up hereafter by some one fortunate enough to obtain materials for a history of the Presidency from every part of it ; and go on to describe briefly the very remarkable manners and customs, of the Kallans, relying for the most part on the authority of the Survey Account.

It appears in the first place that their marriages depend entirely upon consanguinity and are irrespective altogether of the wishes of the parties thereto or their parents. The most proper alliance pinion of a Kallan is one between a man and the daughter of his father's sister ; and if an individual have such a cousin, he

must marry her whatever disparity there may be between their respective ages. A boy of fifteen must marry such a cousin even if she be thirty or forty years old, if her father insists upon him so doing. Failing a cousin of this sort, he must marry his aunt or his niece or any near relative. If his father's brother has a daughter and insists upon him marrying her, he cannot refuse : and this whatever may be the woman's age.

When a wedding takes place, the sister of the bridegroom goes to the house of the parents of the bride, and presents them with twenty-one Kali Fanams and a cloth ; and at the same time ties some horse-hair round the bride's neck ; she then brings her and her relatives to the house of the bridegroom, where a feast is prepared. Sheep are killed, and stores of liquor kept ready : and all partake of the good cheer provided. After this the bride and bridegroom are conducted to the house of the latter ; and the ceremony of an exchange between them of *Vallari Thadis* or bomerangs is solemnly performed. Another feast is then given in the bride's house : and the bride is presented by her parents with one *markál* of rice and a hen. She then goes with her husband to his house : and the ceremony is complete in every respect.

During the first twelve months after the marriage it is customary for the wife's parents to invite the pair to stay with them a day or two on the occasion of any feast, and to present them on their departure with a *markál* of rice and a cock. At the time of the first *Pongal* feast after the marriage the presents customarily given to the son-in-law are five *markáls* of rice, five loads of pots and pans, five bunches of plantains, five cocoanuts, and five lumps of jaggery.

A divorce is easily obtained on either side. A husband dissatisfied with his wife can send her away if he be willing at the same time to give her half of his property : and a wife can leave her husband at will upon forfeiture of forty-two Kali Fanams.

A widow may marry any man she fancies, if she can induce him to make her a present of ten Fanams.

Both males and females are accustomed to stretch to the utmost possible limit the lobes of their ears. The unpleasant disfigurement is effected by the mother boring the ears of her baby and inserting heavy pieces of metal, generally lead, into the apertures. The effect so produced is very wonderful ; and it is not at all uncommon to see the ears of a Kallan hanging on his shoulders. When violently

angry a Kallan will sometimes tear in two the attenuated strips of flesh which constitute his ears, expecting thereby to compel his adversary to do likewise as a sort of *amende honorable* : and altercations between women constantly lead to one or both parties having the ears violently pulled asunder.

And formerly where a Kalla girl was deputed, as frequently happened, to guide a stranger in safety through a Kalla tract, if any of her caste-people attempted to offer violence to her charge in spite of her protestations, she would immediately tear open one of her ears and run off at full speed to her home to complain of what had been done. And the result of her complaint was invariably a sentence to the effect amongst other things that the culprits should have both their ears torn in expiation of their breach of the by-laws of the forest.

The savage disposition of the Kallans appears sufficiently from the following description of a custom which exceeds in atrocity almost every crime of violence of which history affords an example. The Survey Account states that:—

“ The women have all the ill qualities and evil dispositions of the
 “ men : in most of their actions they are inflexibly vindictive and
 “ furious on the least injury, even on suspicion which prompts to the
 “ most violent revenge without any regard to consequences. An
 “ horrible custom exists among the females of the Colleries : when
 “ a quarrel or dissension arises between them, the insulted woman
 “ brings her child to the house of the aggressor and kills it at her
 “ door to avenge herself, although her vengeance is attended with
 “ the most cruel barbarities. She immediately thereafter proceeds to

the most cruel barbarity. She immediately thereafter proceeds to
 " a neighbouring village with all her goods, &c., in this attempt she
 " is opposed by her neighbours which gives rise to clamour and
 " outrage, the complaint is then carried to the head Ambalacaur
 " who lays it before the elders of the village and solicits their
 " interference to terminate the quarrel. In the course of this inves-
 " tigation, if the husband finds that sufficient evidence has been
 " brought against his wife that she had given cause for provocation
 " and aggression, then he proceeds unobserved by the assembly to
 " his house and brings one of his children, and in the presence of
 " witnesses kills his child at the door of the woman who had first
 " killed her child at his; by this mode of proceeding he considers
 " that he has saved himself much trouble and expense which would

" otherwise have devolved on him. This circumstance is soon
 " brought to the notice of the tribunal, who proclaim that the
 " offence committed is sufficiently avenged. But should this volun-
 " tary retribution of revenge not be executed by the convicted
 " person, the tribunal is prorogued to a limited time, fifteen days
 " generally. Before the expiration of that period one of the children
 " of the convicted person must be killed; at the same time he is to
 " bear all expenses for providing food, &c., for the assembly during
 " three days. Such is the inhuman barbarity in avenging outrage
 " which proves the innate cruelty of the people and the unrestrained
 " barbarity of their manners and morals."

With this account may be compared the following passage
 from Orme :—

“ Father Martin, a Jesuit, who resided ten years in the neighbouring
“ country of Moravar, describes the Colleries as more barbarous than
“ any savages in any part of the globe, asserting that when two of the
“ nation, either male or female have a quarrel with one another, each
“ is obliged by an inviolable custom to suffer and perform whatever
“ torments or cruelties the other thinks proper to inflict, either on
“ himself or any of his family ; and that the fury of revenge oper-
“ ates so strongly amongst them, that a man for a slight affront has
“ been known to murder his wife and all his children, merely to
“ have the atrocious satisfaction of compelling his adversary to com-
“ mit the like murders in his own family ; but fortunately for the
“ honor of human nature none of the English Officers have hitherto
“ been able to distinguish any traces of these diabolical practices,
“ and the Jesuit stands single in his assertion.”

Now in a matter like this, the authority of a Jesuit who lived amongst the Kallans and was accustomed to compare his own experiences with those of other Jesuits similarly circumstanced, seems infinitely superior to that of any number of British Officers who merely marched through the country from time to time or were quartered at Madura and other stations not in the Kalla country, and who for aught that appears to the contrary never took the trouble to make enquiries touching the manners and customs of a low and despised race. And the corroborative evidence afforded by the Survey Account is very strong. I have unfortunately not had leisure to ascertain correctly by enquiry, how far the account above given is entitled to credence, but I am inclined to give credence to it as a

whole and see nothing at all improbable in it. Of course such atrocities are not and cannot be perpetrated under British rule. The Survey Report is very hard on the western Kallans. It says of them that they :—" possess none of the virtues nor the gentle and " interesting qualities which are peculiarly characteristic of the " industrious husbandman. They are in general indolent and perfidious ; they commit every sort of excess and cruelty ; and in fact " are capable of the foulest crimes."

Amongst the crimes of which they are guilty or supposed to be guilty is that of poverty. Their houses are represented as being very mean and poor, and " surrounded by a high hedge for protection." Their dress consists in the case of the males, of a common coarse cloth or a blanket tied round them, and a string which holds up their coarse and plentiful hair.

One of the customs of the western Kallans is specially curious. It constantly happens that a woman is the wife of either ten, eight, six or two husbands, who are held to be the fathers jointly and severally of any children that may be born of her body. And still more curiously, when the children of such a family grow up, they for some unknown reason invariably style themselves the children not of ten, eight or six fathers as the case may be, but of eight and two, or six and two, or four and two fathers. The following is a translation of an extract from a petition presented to the Collector of Madura in 1798, which illustrates this custom, and is for other reasons worthy of preservation now that the old times are so rapidly passing away :—

" To the most exquisite beauty of beauties in whom all nature is
 " in true perfection viewed in every respect, and equal to Maha Méru
 " of the most fascinating mild and gracious appearance ; the protector of numberless souls ; the universal and habitual inquirer into
 " the complaints and grievances of all injured people ; the ever-pleasing
 " ing delight and joy of all friendly and social people ; who when he
 " takes his meals is surrounded by thousands :—at the goodly feet of
 " your High Mightiness do we, Terrêa Tevan and his seven brothers,
 " the sons of six and two fathers ; with our legs closed ; mouths
 " covered ; garments thrown between our legs ; standing afar off ;
 " venerating with hands clasped together and up-lifted ; praising and
 " adoring your merciful and charitable disposition ; prostrating ourselves ; and looking up to your honorable person, to the north-

"ward; presume to lay this our humble supplicating petition and to entreat your favor, pleasure and protection, &c. &c. &c."

The boyhood of every Kallan is supposed to be passed in acquiring the rudiments of the only profession for which he can be naturally adapted, namely that of a thief and robber. At fifteen he is usually entitled to be considered a proficient, and from that time forth he is allowed to grow his hair as long as he pleases; a privilege denied to younger boys, who are compelled to shave the whole of the crown of the head with the exception of a small portion reserved for the *Kudumi* or tuft of hair usually worn by Hindûs; and are therefore called *Kudumbi Kalla Pilleighal*. At the same time he is often rewarded for his expertness as a thief by the hand of one of his female relations.

The western Kallans do not intermarry with the eastern: and are supposed to observe much the same marriage ceremonies as ordinary Hindû castes.

Kallans burn and bury their dead. All, I believe, though really devil-worshippers, call themselves Saivites. And lastly, inexplicable as the thing may appear to be, it is nevertheless undoubtedly true that many if not the majority of the Kallans of the Madura District circumcise. The origin of this practice I have endeavoured in vain to discover. It seems to be allowed on all sides that the practice is very ancient: and no native history of the Kalla caste is procurable in the Madura District.

Enough however has been said to show what a very remarkable non-Hindû caste the Kallans are; and it is to be hoped that somebody with sufficient leisure will hereafter tell the world all about them.

No doubt much valuable information might be supplied by the chief of all the Kallans of the south, the Râia of Puthukôttei. I sought for information in that quarter: but unfortunately no notice was taken of my application. I may add in concluding my notice that I have been informed that the Kallans alone of all the castes of Madura call the Mahometans "*mâ-pilleis*" or bridegrooms (Moplals); and this circumstance coupled with that of the adoption of the rite of circumcision, would seem to point to a forcible conversion of their progenitors and a subsequent lapse into idolatry. Perhaps the Kurumbans of the Tondamandalam who escaped extermination fled northwards into the arms of the Mahometans, and after being by them deprived of caste, reappeared in the south as Kallans?

Twelve Kallans were measured and weighed by Doctor Joseph and the following results were obtained, viz:—

No.	Age.	Height.		CIRCUMFERENCE OF										Weight in pounds.	Remarks.
				Head.		Neck.		Chest.		Arms.		Thigh.			
		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.		
1	40	5	3	1	8½	1	0	2	6½	0	8½	1	3	85½	Poor speci- mens appa- rently. Com- pare with Maravans.
2	36	5	4¼	1	9	1	0¼	2	7½	0	8¾	1	4¼	100	
3	32	4	7½	1	8	0	10	2	4	0	7	1	1	74	
4	25	5	1½	1	8¼	0	11½	2	4¾	0	8	1	2½	93	
5	22	5	4	1	9½	1	2	2	10½	0	10	1	7	119½	
6	28	5	2	1	8¼	1	0	2	6½	0	8	1	4	92¾	
7	50	5	4½	1	9½	1	0	2	7¼	0	8	1	3¾	94	
8	38	5	10¼	1	8½	1	0	2	9	0	9	1	5¾	130	
9	25	5	6½	1	9	1	0½	2	7¼	0	8	1	2¾	96	
10	24	5	3¼	1	8½	0	11	2	7½	0	7¾	1	3	89	
11	50	5	5	1	7¼	1	0	2	5¼	0	9¾	1	2¾	98	
12	40	5	4	1	10	1	0	2	6	0	7¾	1	2¾	101	
Total.....		63	7¾	20	8¼	11	11¼	30	9½	8	4½	15	6½	1,172½	
Average..		5	3¼ ¹ / ₈	1	8¾ ³ / ₈	0	11¼ ⁵ / ₈	2	6¼ ³ / ₄	0	8½ ¹ / ₈	1	3¼ ³ / ₄	97¼ ¹ / ₁₆	

We come now to some less important castes.

CHAPTER V.

Lingaya and Visvanât'ha III.—The death of Arya Nâyaga. —Important results.—Extent of the Madura territory.—The Râyar Venkatapati Lord Paramount of Madura.—The murder of Kastûri.—Re-establishment of the Séthupati.—Origin of the Marava dynasty.—Its antiquity.—The seven chiefs of the Mahâvansi.—History of the Séthupatis.—The Governor dies leaving three sons, of whom the eldest succeeds him.—The state of Christianity.—Robert de Nobilibus.—He calls himself a Brâhman from Rome.—His success.—He is suspended for improper practices.—Sad results.—War with Mysore.—War with Tanjore.—The Virupâkshi Poligar.—The Râyar still interferes in the government of the country.—Misrule and corruption.—End of the reign.

LINGAYA, known also by the name of Kumâra Krishnappa, and his brother Visvappa or Visvanât'ha III ruled together for a few years, doing probably much as their father and uncle had done before them; and then a very momentous event took place. This was the death of the great Arya Nâyaga Muthali in 1600, the results of which were the emancipation of the Nâyakkans from immediate control, and the at least partial independence of the Madura country. That this was a beneficial change there can be no question. The protector of the Nâyakkans had grown old and feeble; and his continued presence in Madura must have checked all desire for improve-

With the exception of this crime, the one remarkable event of Muttu Krishnappa's governorship was the re-establishment of the ancient Marava dynasty of Sêthupatis or guardians of the Isthmus of Râmêshwara on the throne of Râmnâd. It is not quite clear how this came about: nor what was the actual extent and political position of the Râmnâd country at this time. From a comparison of the "History of the Karnataca Governors" with a short "account of the Sêthupatis" translated by Mr. Taylor, and with an historical memorandum kindly furnished to me by Ponnusâmi Têvan the present manager of the Râmnâd Zamindâri, it seems probable that in the time of Muttu Krishnappa the Râmnâd country, that is to say all the country between Madura and the sea coast, was under the management of two Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Madura; and that these officers were quite unequal to the task of keeping the dependency in order. Thick jungles had sprung up in every direction; the roads were infested with gangs of robbers; every village had its fort, and levied black mail from pilgrims passing on their way to the holy shrine at Râmêshwara; and nothing in the shape of revenue could be collected from the wild, untameable race who owned the cultivable lands. The Vairâgis, the lawless Vaishnava devotees from the north, who were accustomed to flock every year in thousands to Râmêshwara were daily petitioning the Governor, and clamouring for the restoration of the country to a Marava prince, entitled Sadeika Têvan Udeiyân Sêthupati, who was, or was supposed to be a direct descendant of the ancient Râmnâd stock, and who alone, it was believed, could keep the country in order and protect pilgrims and travellers from violence. And yielding at last to the importunate solicitations of these self-styled holy men, and probably being perfectly sensible of the advantage of making this

prince a friendly vassal in place of an angry enemy, the Governor somewhere about the year 1605 sent for him ; and having satisfied himself as to his fitness to govern the dependency, had him crowned as Sêthupati in a town in the Râmnâd country called Pôkalûr with great pomp and ceremony ; and at the same time made him chief of the seventy-two Pâleiyakârans. The newly-appointed Sêthupati was a man of energy and conduct, and soon gave the Governor cause to congratulate himself on having acted as he had. The waste lands were gradually reclaimed ; robbery and violence were checked ; and in a short time the country began to wear a new and healthful aspect. The towns of Râmnâd and Pôkalûr were fortified and improved. The important villages Vadakku-Vattakei, Kâleiyâr-Kôvil, and Pattamangalam were taken from refractory chiefs ; and a considerable annual tribute was remitted to Madura, after allowing for all the expenses of the subordinate government and for the

personal expenditure of the Sêthupati. Nor was this satisfactory state of things merely transitory. For Sadeika Têvan ruled his people for several years, firmly but with moderation; and when he died in 1621 (?), his son Kûttan was allowed to succeed him.

I think there can be but little doubt that such in substance were the circumstances in which the Sêthupati was restored. But the question naturally arises, how ancient and important was the territory which he thus gained? Professor Wilson has given in his catalogue (see vol. i, p. 195) an abstract of a manuscript in the McKenzie collection, from which it appears that the author of it understood the Maravas to be a tribe which had been originally transplanted from Ceylon, and of which certain members had been appointed Sêthupatis or custodians of the Isthmus of Râmêshwara, by Râma the hero. They were long subject to the Pândyas, but in the course of time became sufficiently powerful to shake off their yoke; and at last made their masters their servants; and they remained lords paramount of the Pândya kingdom for no less than eleven generations; and during three reigns ruled over the whole of the south of India. Finally they were driven back to the south of the river Kâvêri by the Kurumba prince of Alakâpuri, and Madura and Tanjore were taken from them by the officers of the Vijayanagar Râyar. Then again the appointment of Sêthupatis by Râma is expressly mentioned in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum referred to above. And from the Karnatic history it clearly appears that there was already a Sêthupati in the time of Muttu Krishnappa. So too

in the Chronicle of the acts of the Sêthupatis translated by Mr. Taylor, at the end of his work, the O. H. MSS. it is stated that "In the early times when the Chakravertis flourished, seven persons "from among the inhabitants of this Râmnâd peninsular coast were "appointed in order to be its guardians. When thus through a long "and remote traditionary period they had continued for many "generations to guard it, one among the seven persons, the son of "Shethunga Deven, who was named Sadaica Devaiyen Udiyan "Sêthupati.....being the chief of the seven received authority to "rule this Râmnâd kingdom, &c." Lastly it appears from a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. Priaux in the month of November 1860, and published in Vol. xviii, part II, of the R. A. S. Journal, that the writer, looking to the fact that according to the Mahâvansi the last of the three Tamil invasions of Ceylon which took place in the third and second centuries before Christ was under the leadership of seven chieftains; and looking to the fact of the silence of the Pândya Chronicles with regard to Pândya dealings with Ceylon; thinks it probable that these invasions were led by mere adventurers, and not by the generals of the Pândya kings. Supposing this ingenious suggestion to be one of truth, it would seem to be very probable that these seven adventurers, who are described in the Râjâvali more than once as coming from the Soly rata (Chôla country), were the seven chiefs whose existence is recorded in the Chronicle translated in Mr. Taylor's work, and had pushed their conquests north of their modern boundaries. And the probability is greatly increased by the circumstance that Sir Emerson Tennent states (so says the paper) that the Tamils who invaded Ceylon were ruled by a dynasty of Râjas who held their court at Nallûr, coupled with the fact that Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum expressly states that, at one time, the Sêthupatis made Virava Nallûr (one of the many towns in South India called Nallûr) their capital. This Virava Nallûr is situated near Râmnâd and the sea coast, and there can be no ground for supposing that Pândya kings ever made it their capital.

There is therefore a considerable amount of evidence which goes to support the claim to high antiquity put forward by the Râmnâd royal family: and I am not aware of the existence of any evidence which would tend to invalidate it. And seeing that Râmêshwara has been for centuries resorted to annually by large bodies of pilgrims,

by the victorious Sêthupati, who thereupon assumed the title of "He who conquers countries seen, and never lets go countries conquered."

Samara Kôlâhala Rag'hunât'ha Sêthupati was sent by the Pândya to settle a boundary dispute between him and the Chôla. He executed his commission with fidelity, and was rewarded by the Chôla with the monopoly of the pearl fishery in the gulf of Manâar; whilst the Pândya conferred the following titles on him, namely, Râjaya Râja, Râja Paramêshwara, Râja Mârtânda, and Râja Gamb'hîra.

After this, when all the countries between Cape Comorin and the river Narmada were under the authority of the Râyar of Vijayanagar, and the countries north of the Narmada under that of the Bâdishâ (Pasha), a confederacy of Hindû kings was formed against the Mahometans by order of the Râyar; and amongst others the Sêthupati was sent by the Pândya, as his representative. The Sêthupati performed distinguished service: and the Chôla, who also took part in the war, ceded to the Sêthupati (apparently by order of the Râyar) the districts of Manâr-Kôvil, Thiruvârûr, and Thîvu-Kôttei. And the privilege of raising the monkey banner and the Garuda banner was bestowed upon him, as appears from the heraldic work the *Viruthâvali*.

At various times the capitals of the Sêthupatis have been Dêvapura or Râmêshwara, Tondi, Rag'hunât'hapura, and Virava Nallûr.

The above are the only facts set forth in the earlier portion of the memorandum. If it shows nothing else, it shows two important circumstances most clearly, viz:—

1. The Sêthupati was always a vassal of the Pândya: and there is no ground for the supposition that the Maravas were at one time the dominant race in the South of India.
2. The supremacy of the Râyar of Vijayanagar over all the kings of the south was more than nominal at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

It appears to me, however, that as far as it goes, the memorandum is worthy of great credence. Tested by the letters of the Madura Jesuits, that portion of it which gives the modern history of Râmnâd is on the whole fairly correct: and if the latter portion is found to be generally credible, we may suppose, nothing appearing to the contrary, that the early portion also contains much that is true.

We must now revert to the history of Madura. Besides the establishment or restoration of the Sêthupati, the only recorded acts of Muttu Krishnappa were the digging of sundry tanks for the benefit of worshippers, and the building of some Pagodas and *Agrahâras*. He also built a small town between Madura and Skanda-malei, which he called after himself Krishnapura, and the ruins of which (it is said) may still be traced. But his rule was very peaceful, disturbed by no rebellions or invasions: and the country continued to grow rich and prosperous. The Governor died about 1609 A. D., leaving three sons, Muttu Vîrapa, Tirumala and Kumâra Muttu.

Before passing on to another reign, it will be necessary to notice here briefly the state of Christianity in the Madura kingdom towards the end of the 16th, and at the beginning of the 17th century. From a letter written by Father Albert Laerzio to the General of his society, dated 20th November 1609, it appears that there was at that time a church in Madura, resorted to by the Paravas, a caste of fishermen who lived on the sea coast and had been originally converted by Francis Xavier. Being tributary to the King of Madura—the title of Governor or Superintendent appears to have been dropt—some of the Paravas had occasion to visit the capital from time to time; and a church had been built for their use by permission of the King, who was in alliance with the Portuguese, and placed under the care of Father Fernandez. This Missionary soon began to see that, if he confined his attention to the Christians who occasionally visited Madura, he would have little or no work to do: and he therefore attempted to convert the Vadukans or Telugu people who had settled in Madura. But in spite of his zeal and austerity of life, which

CHAPTER VI.

The great Tirumala.—An accident causes him to make Madura his capital.—His sickness.—His dream.—His vow —Great public works.—Madura unsuited for a capital.—Tirumala determines to make himself independent.—Weakness of the Empire.—War with Mysore.—Râmappayya.—Cabal against him.—Tirumala's generosity.—Robert de Nobilibus resumes his labors.—Persecution.—The Kallans.—Râmnâd affairs.—The Dalavây Séthupati and the Tambi.—Tirumala sends Râmappayya against the Dalavây.—Râmappayya's conduct.—His causeway.—Bravery of the Maravans.—Death of Râmappaya.—The Dalavây imprisoned : and restored.—The Tambi murders him.—Tirumala divides the dependency.—It is re-united.—Vîra Bhôga Vasanta Râyar.—Tirumala changes his policy.—Death of the Râyar.—His son declares war.—Confederacy against him.—Tirumala enters into an alliance with Golkonda.—Miserable fall of the Râyar.—Golkonda attacks the Nâyakkans.—Siege of Gingi.—Tirumala's false policy.—He submits to the Mahometans.—His cruelty to his subjects.—Unpatriotic conduct.—The Mysorean invasion.—The Séthupati's fidelity.—Treachery.—The Mysoreans utterly routed.—The "hunt for noses."—Tirumala dies.—Circumstances of his death.—He was not a Christian.—

A few years after the war with Mysore the state of the Râmnâd country became such, as to call for the active interference of the King. The Sêthupati Kûttan, who it will be remembered was the son of and succeeded the first Sêthupati about 1621, reigned prosperously for fourteen years, and died in 1635 leaving a son Sadeika Têvan II, better known by his title of the Dalavây Sêthupati, and a daughter, Gangâyî Nâtchiyâr. The Dalavây mounted the throne of Râmnâd, and reigned in quiet for two or three years; when for some unexplained reason he publicly announced his intention of appointing his adopted son Rag'hunât'ha Têvan his successor. Upon this an illegitimate son of the deceased Kûttan, known to history only by the familiar name of the "Tambi," or younger brother, openly opposed the Sêthupati, and declared his intention of ousting him from his seat on the throne. Coming to Madura he intrigued with some of the ministers, and so managed matters, as to persuade the King to favor his pretensions, and appoint him Sêthupati in place of the Dalavây. The newly appointed Sêthupati then returned to Râmnâd with a large escort, and endeavoured to induce the Dalavây to submit quietly to the will of his lord. But the Sêthupati was a man of spirit; and had no idea of resigning his sceptre without a struggle. Relying on the justness of his cause, and perhaps too on the probability of the enemies of the commander-in-chief throwing obstacles in the way of that officer, should he attempt to march against Râmnâd with an army sufficient to reduce it, he boldly declared that he would never give up his rights, and bade the Tambi and his patrons do what seemed good in their eyes. On hearing of this, Tirumala perceived at once that he had placed himself in a false position: from which there was only one way of successfully extricating himself. Right or wrong, his orders must be obeyed. And as the Dalavây had refused to obey them, he must be visited without delay with the penalty of disobedience. Accordingly instructions were forthwith issued to the several Poligars to furnish large bodies of troops for the chastisement of the rebel: and Râmnâd instructions were forthwith issued to the several Poligars to furnish large bodies of troops for the chastisement of the rebel: and Râmnâd appayya was directed to march against Râmnâd, and bring the Dalavây to Madura, dead or alive. The gallant Rang'hana Nâyakkan was sent with him as his second in command; and every precaution was taken to ensure speedy and decisive success. The two Generals as was expected, acted with energy and boldness; and Râmnâd was

stormed after a somewhat protracted siege, and after a series of battles had been fought with varying success. But the rebellious Sêthupati was not yet beaten. He withdrew to the island of Pâmbam : and having entrenched himself in a fortified camp, endeavoured to prevent the enemy forcing a passage across the shallow channel which separated the island from the mainland. It is said too, that he procured the assistance of a number of Europeans, who came from Ceylon and Cochin in five vessels. The only direct evidence of this fact, is a statement in a poem called Râmappayya, noticed by Mr. Taylor, and by Professor Wilson in his descriptive catalogue : but the probability of the story is strengthened by a statement contained in a Missionary's report of 1653 to the effect that before that time the Maravas had successfully encountered European troops on the coast. For if Europeans had found the Maravas to be foemen worthy of their steel, the circumstance of their entering into an alliance with the Sêthupati, in the hope of ultimately gaining a hold on his country, is readily intelligible and in perfect agreement with the usual course of Indo-European politics.

However the General in command was a man quite equal to an emergency of this sort. His engineers threw a strong causeway across the channel : and in a few days' time he was enabled to march his troops over. But at the moment when victory was about to crown his efforts, Râmappayya suddenly fell sick and died. It is said that the Sêthupati caused his death by magic ; and I presume this means that he caused him to be poisoned. But whether he was poisoned or not, the death of the great Dalavây brought no profit to the Sêthupati. Siva Râmaya, the son-in-law of the deceased, succeeded to the command, and proved himself well worthy of the post.

In a very short time he utterly defeated the rebel : and took him and one of his nephews, Tanakkâ Têvan, prisoners : and carried them to Madura, where they were thrown into a dungeon and loaded with chains.

Whilst the Dalavây Sêthupati languished in prison, the Tambi endeavoured to induce the Maravas of Râmnâd to submit quietly to his authority. But in vain. There was a strong personal feeling against him, which was no doubt strengthened not a little by a keen appreciation of the injustice of which Tirumala had manifestly been guilty. And the Dalavây had strong supporters in his kinsmen and friends. The Tambi soon discovered that he had undertaken a hopeless task. The whole country had risen to arms. The roads had become infest-

ed once more with robbers. And the collection of the revenue was an impossibility. Whilst he hesitated, undecided how to act, Rag'hunât'ha Têvan and his younger brother, Nârâyana Têvan, the nephews of the Dalavây, placed themselves at the head of some troops, and openly declared themselves to be the masters of Râmnâd. Upon this the Tambi retreated to Madura: and having made the King acquainted with the state of the dependency, requested to be furnished with troops and money. But his request could not be granted. Whole armies of Vairâgis or religious devotees of the Vaishnava faith, had come from the countries of the north as usual to worship at Râmêshwara, and had together with many other kinds of pilgrims been disappointed of the fruits of their wearisome journeyings by the disordered state of the Râmnâd country; and accordingly they had for some time clamorously demanded of the King the restoration of the captive Dalavây. By persistently importuning and petitioning him, they at last effected their object. The Dalavây was permitted to return to Râmnâd in triumph: and the Tambi was strictly enjoined to keep the peace.

After this the Dalavây reigned for five or six years in peace: and his country had begun to recover from the effects of Râmappayya's invasion and the subsequent disturbances, when the Tambi again conspired against the Sêthupati; murdered him; and attempted to mount the throne about the year 1645. The principal Maravas however refused to obey him: and the country was once more menaced with all the horrors of civil warfare; when Tirumala interfered before things had gone too far. Being of opinion that the only way of

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things had gone too far. Being of opinion that the only way of ending these troubles was by giving each of the principal claimants of the right to govern the principality a certain amount of territory and power, he resolved to divide the Râmnâd kingdom into three portions: and about the year 1646 the sub-division containing the capital was made over to Rag'hunât'ha Têvan, whilst Sivagangei was allotted to the Tambi; and Tiruvâdânei to Tanakkâ Têvan and Nârâyana Têvan, the two younger brothers of Rag'hunât'ha Têvan, conjointly. The power of the Sêthupati was thus apparently broken: and Tirumala hoped that the unpleasant Râmnâd question was once for all settled. But in this he was mistaken. Tanakkâ Têvan died shortly afterwards: and Rag'hunât'ha Têvan took advantage of the occasion to annex his country to his own. And there was every probability of his coming into collision with the Tambi again, when, to the great comfort of the Madura government, that troublesome

and unscrupulous intriguer suddenly died. In consequence of this, Rag'hunât'ha Têvan became without difficulty sole master of the whole of the three sub-divisions. And as he had shortly before, in conjunction with the Tambi, taken the towns of Manârkôvil, Pattu-kôttei, Divu-kôttei, Arundângi and Tiruvârûr from the Tanjore kingdom, the territories of Râmnâd were now more extensive than they had been for a very long time.

About the year 1653 the whole country was thrown into a state of great nervous excitement by the spreading in every direction of one of the mysterious and extraordinary rumours, which in eastern lands spring up from time to time, no one knows where or how, and after causing much speculation and alarm in the minds of even the wisest, suddenly die out at last of sheer exhaustion. It had been confidently predicted by several of those idle impostors who roam about from village to village, singing lewd songs and begging alms in God's name, that within a few days' time there would come from the north an infant Emperor of divine birth, who would upset all existing institutions, and usher in a millennium of peace, plenty and happiness. And this prediction was soon believed by Hindûs of all classes. If any man was bold enough to laugh at the folly of his neighbours, and to expose the falsehood of those who deceived them, he was speedily silenced by frightful curses and threats of God's

wholly unequal to the task of repelling the invaders; and Tirumala being ill at the time, and no longer a young man, lost his wits and was reduced to a state of despair. However he sent off an express to the Sêthupati to march at once to his assistance; and in order to show unmistakeably the desperate plight in which he found himself to be, so worded the despatch as to make it appear to be sent by the Queen, and not by himself. The Sêthupati gallantly obeyed the call; assembled 25,000 men without a moment's delay; and suddenly marching them up between the walls of Madura and the camp of the enemy, proclaimed to the King that for the present at all events he was safe. Recovering his courage Tirumala thereupon collected 35,000 of the royal troops; and having effected a junction with the Marava army, offered the enemy battle. But the Mysorean commander did not feel himself strong enough to risk a general engagement: and so attempted to gain time, hoping that some expected reinforcements would make their appearance; and also hoping that he might be able to seduce Tirumala's General, a crafty Brâhman, by the offer of a handsome bribe. The latter expectation was realized: and although superior in numbers, the Madura army was for some time prevented from closing with the enemy. But the Maravans were under no such control; and after raising a cry of treason, and thrusting

the traitor into prison, fell on the Mysorean army with great fury and after a sharp encounter put them to the rout.

The enemy fell back upon a fortress, probably Dindigul, for they would scarcely have ventured to leave so strong a fort in the hands of the King, when advancing against his capital; and there awaited the coming of fresh troops. In the course of a few days the Mysorean received a reinforcement of about 20,000 men; and relying on this addition to his strength, offered battle. Upon this a sanguinary engagement took place, resulting in the total defeat of the invaders, after a loss on either side of nearly 12,000 killed. The Mysorean therefore fled back through the ghauts in great disorder: and Madura was once more free from danger.

Tirumala was so well pleased with the courage and conduct of the Sêthupati, that he determined to reward it in a right princely fashion. He bestowed on him all kinds of valuable presents; and gave him the title of Tirumala Sêthupati, and also that of Protector of the Queen's *tâli*, because he had rescued her husband from danger. He also gave him the privilege of using the lion-faced palanquin peculiar to the royal house of Madura; relieved him for ever from the

India. And it would seem to be doubtful at first sight whether Tirumala and his father exercised a sound discretion in gradually raising up so powerful a neighbour, in the room of a humble and comparatively feeble vassal. But perhaps the Sêthupati's exaltation was unavoidable. For his fidelity had been of late years most remarkable, and he had rendered invaluable service on more than one occasion. Once he had repelled an incursion of Mahometans, headed by a leader of the name of Khûb (? Kutb) Khân; in return for which he was honored with the title of "he who propped up the kingdom," and also received permission to celebrate the "nine nights' festival" in his own capital, and with the same pomp and magnificence with which it was celebrated at Madura. Then at a later period he had stamped out a formidable rebellion. For some reason which cannot now be discovered the powerful Poligar of Ettiyapuram in the Tinnevely District put himself at the head of a confederation of Poligars, and took up arms against the King: and the Sêthupati, being the chief of all the Poligars, was entrusted with the duty of quelling the rebellion and performed it most satisfactorily. The leader of the rebels was put to death, and the others severely punished; and in a few months tranquillity was completely restored. And for this service he was given a large slice of land in the neighbourhood of Manârkôvil in the Tinnevely country, saddled with the trifling responsibility of protecting its pearl-fishery, which yielded considerable sums of money to the royal treasury. Rag'hunât'ha Têvan was therefore a most trusty vassal and well deserved the rewards and honors that were heaped upon him. Nor did he ever give his lord occasion to repent having placed so much confidence in him. He continued for many years to reign quietly at Râmnâd, abstaining from all intrigue, and occupying himself with the improvement of his country. Amongst other things, he built a village at Râmêshwara, to which Râmappayya had made access practicable by the construction of his permanent causeway during the war with the Dalavây: and from this circumstance he took the

*domestic affairs.—The rebellion.—George Alexander de Souza
 Virappa.—Ekoji's tyranny.—He plunders the Church^{beer}
 The Mahrattas in Gingi.—Madura held by five^{affided him}
 The influence of Mysore in Madura declines.—A son Ranga
 recovers his capital.—And begins to re-const^{change}
 kingdom.—His character.—The Moghal's slipper^{benefited}
 bellion in Mysore.—The Kilavan's intrigues.—His Minis-
 ter's treachery.—Persecution of Christianity.—The King
 dies of small-pox.—Death of his widow.—Regency of
 Mangammál.—Her charitable works.—Her energy.—
 Martyrdom of John De Britto.—His life.—His writings.—
 Christianity flourishes.—The Kilavan invades Tanjore.—
 His success.—The trick played by the Râja of Travan-
 core.—War with Travancore.—Tigers in Tinnevelly.—
 Sparseness of the population.—Tuticorin.—The Dutch.—
 Their commerce.—The pearl-fishery in 1700.—War with
 Tanjore.—Father Bouchet's interview with the Dalaváy.
 Character of the Dalaváy.—The Kallans.—Victory
 over Tanjore.—The Minister's astuteness.—The dam
 across the Kávéri.—The Regency comes to an end.—Man-
 gammál's intrigue with her Minister.—Her cruel fate.—
 A ghost story.*

BEFORE passing on to another reign, it will be well to make a short digression for the purpose of looking at the state of affairs in Râmnâd during the critical times with the description of which we have been occupied. It appears that the Sêthupati who was so faithful and valuable a servant to the great Tirumala, namely Rag'hunâtha, after a long and useful reign of nearly thirty years appointed his nephew Râja Sûria his successor and soon afterwards died. This

was about the time when Choka Nât'ha was ruling Tanjore through his foster-brother, and Chengamala Nâyakkan was casting about for assistance to recover the throne of his ancestors. Amongst others he applied to Râja Sûria, and not unsuccessfully; though to what extent the Sêthupati compromised himself in the Tanjore business there is nothing to show. It seems however that he went far enough to incur the grave displeasure of the Madura Dalavây, Venkata Krishnappa; who contrived by means of an artifice to secure his person, threw him into prison in Trichinopoly, and there had him put to death six months after he became Sêthupati. After his death the principal Maravans could not agree in the matter of the choice of a successor, and the Government was carried on temporarily by an officer who had served the late Rag'hunât'ha in the not very distinguished capacity of a betel-nut bearer. And another Maravan ~~named~~ Athana was chosen to preside at the celebration of the nine-nights ceremony, a duty of the very highest order in the estimation of the people of Râmnâd. Shortly afterwards the illegitimate son of the last Sêthupati succeeded in fighting his way to the throne; and commenced a reign destined to extend over a period of no less than thirty-six years. The correct name or title of this prince was Rag'hunât'ha, but he is better known in history by the soubriquet of "Kilavan" or old man.

One of the earliest acts of the Kilavan was the assassination of the two principal men by whose instrumentality he had climbed to fortune. He seems to have been afraid lest the influence which had been so successfully exerted in his behalf, might be on some future occasion exerted with equal vigour and weight in favor of a rival: and accordingly determined to rid himself in the only way possible of neighbours possessed of so dangerous power. Shortly after this he fell in love with a Kalla girl named Kâthali, the daughter of one of his dependents, and married her: and appointed her brother Rag'hunât'ha Chief of the District of Puthu-Kôttei, with the title of Rag'hunât'ha, Tondiman, in lieu of one Pallavarâyan Tondiman who had been attempting to detach the District from the parent State and incorporate it with the Tanjore country. The predecessor of Pallavarâyan was Chandrappan, entitled Sêrvei; and it seems to be inferrible that he was the first man created Chief of Puthu-Kôttei. The next memorable event in the Kilavan's life was the rescue of the King of Madura from the thralldom of Rus-

tam Khân, which has already been alluded to: from which circumstance he obtained the title of Para Râja Kêsari, or lion among foreign Râjas. It is said that he effected an entry into the fort by burning down the southern gate. Out of compliment to the Sêthupati, Choka Nât'ha or his minister sent one Kumâra Pillei to Râm-nâd to be the Dalavây of the dependency: and the consequences of this appointment will have to be noticed hereafter. In the meantime we must revert to the history of Madura.

The unfortunate Choka Nât'ha—unfortunate in coming into possession of unlimited power at an age when he ought to have been under a schoolmaster, and in that his evil fate ever surrounded him by men of the vilest stamp—was succeeded in 1682 by his son Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa, a boy of fifteen. This nominal change in the government does not appear to have immediately benefited the country, which is said to have been delivered up to a complete anarchy and to an universal pillage; foreign enemies occupying all the citadels, while the robbers were masters of the rural districts, of the towns and of the villages, and carried on their brigandage everywhere with impunity.

In Tanjore, Ekoji's tyranny was steadily gaining in force and intensity; and after plundering his subjects of everything valuable which could be found in their hands, he now turned a greedy eye towards the abundant wealth in the possession of the Pagodas and other religious institutions with which the Tanjore country was so amply supplied. Hindûs are so notorious for superstitious fear, and Church property is in their eyes so very sacred a thing, that no one for a moment supposed it possible that Ekoji, the King of the country, he who was as it were specially bound by an implied agreement to protect all such property, would ever dare to lay a sacrilegious finger upon it: and his enquiries touching the revenues and possessions of the Pagodas were accordingly viewed without suspicion. It is difficult therefore to imagine the horror and indignation which filled the minds of the whole people, when it became known in the year 1682 that the King had not only seized and converted to his own use the whole of the treasures laid up in the great Pagodas, but had also sequestered the broad lands with which they were endowed. However incredible, the news was strictly true; and for perhaps the first time in history a Hindû King had robbed the Gods of his country wholesale and openly. The Brâhmans came before

took possession of his ancient capital. And the Tinnevely province also seems to have been recovered, if indeed it was ever lost, which seems doubtful. The Jesuits did not concern themselves much with the extreme south of the kingdom, and it is not easy to trace its history in their letters. And native MSS. apparently but rarely make mention of the Tinnevely province. Many circumstances led to this re-habilitation of the Madura Nâyakkan, of which the following seem to have been the principal. In the first place Mysore was engaged in a protracted war with Samboji; and was also torn by internal strife to so great an extent as to incapacitate it from holding conquered territories which lay at any great distance from its capital. In the next place Ekoji had reduced Tanjore to such a state by his tyranny, that so far from being able to attack Madura he was wholly unable to protect his own country from the joint depredations of the tribes of Kallans and Maravans located on his frontiers. Then the Sêthupati was occupied with a rebellion headed by his Dalavây. And lastly Samboji seems to have devoted his whole strength to the prosecution of the war against Mysore, and altogether gave up his hold upon Madura.

In these circumstances it was an easy thing to re-construct the kingdom, provided that its ruler were a man of some ability and spirit. And the young King now in his twentieth year would seem to have been even more than this: and to have displayed an energy and independence of mind, which must have forcibly reminded the

without regard to age or sex: and his cruel orders were carried out to the letter. Moreover the principal Pagodas of Siva and Vishnu were destroyed, and their enormous revenues confiscated. And thus the revolt was stamped out. Compare with this Wilks' account at page 207 of vol. i.

Whilst the young King of Madura was slowly and painfully cementing together and building up again the fragments into which his kingdom had been split, the Kilavan Sêthupati was engaged in various intrigues and proceedings, the outlines of which it is not very easy to trace. It appears that in 1686 he took the side of the ex-Dalavây Venkata Krishnappa who was in revolt against the King of Madura. And for some reason which cannot be discovered the two entered into a confederacy with Chengamala Nâyakkan, the man whom Ekoji had supplanted in Tanjore, and who seems to have been living in perfect amity with the usurper; the agreement being that Chengamala should furnish troops and money to use against Madura, and that in consideration of this aid the Kilavan should cede to Tanjore for a term of twelve years the districts lying between the Pâmbâr and Puthu Kôttei. Meanwhile Kunâra Pillei, the

the Pambar and Puthu Kottel. Meanwhile Kumara Pillei, the Sêthupati's Dalavây, who it will be remembered was sent to Râmnâd out of compliment in the time of Choka Nât'ha (see ante page 207), thought proper to rebel against his master, and formed a plot to seize him and Venkata Krishnappa and deliver them to the King of Madura. But before this perfidious act could be accomplished the intended victims were apprised of what was going on; and the traitor was himself seized and most cruelly punished. His hands and feet were cut off, and he was then impaled on a sharp stake. His brothers were punished in a like manner; and all his wives and near relations were put to death on the same day. As Kumâra Pillei was a persecutor of the Christians, his fate seems to have afforded undue pleasure to the Jesuits: and the writer of the history of John de Britto observes "*un seul jour vit s'éteindre le persécuteur des chrétiens et toute sa race maudite,*" an observation scarcely becoming in a Christian priest.

Shortly after this the royal troops overran the whole of the Marava country; and a skirmish took place near Râmnâd between them and the troops of the Sêthupati which led to no particular results. But a few days later a decisive battle was fought, in which some troops of Ekoji, sent to the Sêthupati's assistance under the command of Varaboji Panditan, took part: and on this occasion the advantage was

altogether on the side of the ruler of Râmmâd. The King's troops were hastily withdrawn : and apparently the war was brought to a close, as nothing more is said about it in the memoirs of those times.

It is observable that although the young King did much to shield the Christians, there was more persecution about this time than in any previous period. It was especially rife in the Marava country, and had there begun to assume that more violent form which as we shall see arrived at its full development a few years later in the brutal murder of John De Britto. The sole reason for this, as far as can be gathered from the gossiping writings of the Jesuits, seems to have been the animosity excited in the minds of the Hindû clergy by the circumstance of their fees and emoluments being every day reduced in value in proportion as converts to Christianity became more numerous. Had it not been for this inevitable incident, and had not the society of Jesuits been suppressed in 1774, probably the greater part of the population amongst whom the Madura mission worked, would at the present day be Christians.

That this is no exaggerated view will be clear from the fact that Father Bouchet, writing in 1700 from Madura, states that during the five years preceding he had baptized with his own hands more than eleven thousand persons, and during the twenty years previous no less than twenty thousand ; and that during this last period he had confessed more than a hundred thousand. His separate cure was one of thirty thousand souls ; and he was only one of many workers. And thirteen years later the number of converts was in excess of a million.

About the year 1688 or 89 the young King of Madura was attacked by small-pox ; and to the misfortune of his country was carried off by that terrible disease. He left no issue : but his widow, Muttammâl, was far advanced in pregnancy, and subsequently gave birth to a son

to be put to death, an order for his instant liberation was issued by the Madura Dalavây and obeyed without demur. As the Sêthupati of that time was the Kilavan who intended to share in the pillage of Trichinopoly, and subsequently joined Venkata Krishnappa in a successful war against the King, the fact of an order from Trichinopoly being respected within the limits of his dominions is one of some significance.

The year 1693 was rendered memorable in the Marava country by a lamentable attack on Christianity, which culminated in the martyrdom of that great missionary John De Britto. He had succeeded in curing of a grievous disorder and in subsequently converting a prince named Tirya Têvan, who is stated to have been the rightful heir to the throne of Râmnâd and to have been set aside in favor of the Kilavan. On his conversion, Tirya Têvan was compelled to renounce polygamy and to tell his wives that all except one must thenceforth be nothing more than sisters to him. The ladies of his harem very naturally regarded this resolution in the light of a grievous insult, and after repeatedly attempting in vain to induce him to permit them to continue at all events to live with him as his wives, resolved to revenge themselves on the author of their humiliation. In pursuance of this resolution one of them named Kadalei, who was the niece of the Sêthupati, went off to Râmnâd and laid her case before her uncle with all the effect that could be produced by vehement entreaties, by tears and sobs and groans. What ! cried she, was it to be endured that she, a princess of a noble house, should be driven like a dog from her palace by a vile magician, a low impostor ? And were the ancient Gods of her country to be openly disgraced by a stranger ? Was the whole country to bow to the Parangis ?

These and other arguments of a like nature were sufficient to move the Sêthupati to great anger; and he wrote at once to Tirya Têvan, bidding him to forthwith arrest the foreign Guru and burn down all his churches. Not content with this concession Kadalei induced a certain Brâhman named Pompavanam, well known for his hostility to De Britto, to espouse her cause: and shortly afterwards a deputation of Brâhmans waited upon the Sêthupati and represented to him that the safety of the kingdom was manifestly imperilled by the progress of Christianity. Not only they said was the worship of the Gods of the country neglected, and their Pagodas falling into decay; but the whole country was becoming tainted with Parangism. Moreover the Sêthupati had expressly forbidden De Britto to show his face within the limits of his dominions; and notwithstanding that order the wretch was propagating his doctrines more assiduously than ever. If this were permitted with impunity, what would become of the Sêthupati's authority? In conclusion they advanced an argument which could hardly miss its mark, to the effect that if the Sêthupati did not interfere in time the majority of the population would in a year or two become Christians, and Tirya Têvan would then be in a position to pull the Sêthupati off the throne which he had usurped.

This last argument told with irresistible force, and the Kilavan resolved upon instant action. As a first step he sent for Tirya Têvan, and examined him touching the truth of the allegations made against him. But here he met with a boldness and steadfastness by which he was completely baffled. The new convert admitted without hesitation that De Britto had been preaching the true faith in the Marava country; had built four churches; and had made many converts: and as for himself, he was proud to be able to say that he too was of the number of those converts. The Sêthupati would have been only too glad to punish this insolence with instant death. But Tirya Têvan was a man whose high position and connections could not be overlooked, especially as the Kilavan's title was notoriously bad: and accordingly the Sêthupati resolved to inflict on De Britto the punishment which he was afraid to inflict on his rival. A company of soldiers was sent to the village of Muni, where the doomed man was temporarily residing; and about midday on the 8th January he was arrested, together with a Brâhman and two catechists who were anxious to share his fate. One of them was a subject of the King of Madura, and as soon as this fact was discovered he was set at liberty:

On the 11th January the prisoners reached Râmnâd, and were thrown into prison pending the arrival of the Sêthupati. He came to his capital a few days later; and immediately proceeded to deal with his victims. But Tirya Têvan also was in Râmnâd, and exerted himself in every way to save his friends: and for a long time nothing

decisive was attempted. The Brâhmans were active in pressing for vengeance and in endeavouring to get rid of De Britto by magical incantations: and the Sêthupati longed to gratify his cruelty. But the incantations produced no results; and as De Britto was commonly held to be a great magician, a superstitious dread of offering violence to him operated strongly on his persecutor's mind. Then again Tirya Têvan's persistent efforts to save his friends could not be lightly disregarded: and lastly the existence of so many Christians in his dominions made it doubtful whether the judicial murder of their chief Guru would not excite unpleasant disturbances. These and many other considerations swayed the mind of the Sêthupati for many days: and at last he meanly resolved to do what he wished, but to do it through an agent on whom should rest the responsibility and odium of the deed. Accordingly a proclamation was made to the effect that De Britto was sentenced to be banished from the kingdom; and he was forthwith sent off under escort to the Sêthupati's brother the Governor of Oreiyûr, a fortress on the northern frontier of the Marava country, situated on the river Pâmbâr. But with him there was sent a secret despatch bearing the Sêthupati's signature, and containing an order to behead the foreign Sanniyâsi. He arrived at Oreiyûr on the 31st January, and on the next day was rejoiced by learning his fate from the mouth of the Governor. The execution of his sentence was delayed for three days by the interposition in his behalf of the chief wife of the Governor, who was a Christian: and it was for some time doubtful whether her tears and entreaties would not prevail. But the Governor's minister was a sworn enemy of Christianity, and was as fervent in demanding the death of De Britto, as De Britto's protectress was in demanding his release: and he succeeded at last in persuading the Governor, who appears to have been a weak and irresolute man, to direct that the sentence should be carried out. Accordingly on the 4th February De Britto was taken to an eminence

Although a persecutor of Christianity, probably from an honest belief that its progress imperilled his position as Sêthupati, the Kilavan appears to have been an able and politic ruler: and a story is told in the life of John De Britto of an intelligent heathen refusing to believe that Christians were well-behaved people, on the ground that if they were, so wise a man as the Kilavan would never have condemned their Guru to an infamous death. After his war with Madura, the Kilavan pulled down the mud walls of Râmnâd and replaced them with solid stone fortifications; having an eye no doubt to the probability of his having to go to war with Tanjore about the matter of the ceded districts north of the Pâmbâr. According to the terms of the convention of 1686 Tanjore was bound to give back those districts in 1698, upon the expiration of the term of twelve years. But when the time came for the fulfilment of this

every two, and were pierced with holes of varying sizes; that which had the largest holes being the topmost colander, and that which had the smallest being the undermost. When dropped into colander No. 1, all but the very finest pearls fell through into No. 2, and most of them passed into Nos. 3, 4 and 5; whilst the smallest of all, the seeds, were strained off into the receptacle at the bottom. When all had staid in their proper colanders, they were classified and valued accordingly. The largest or those of the first class were the most valuable: and it is expressly stated in the letter from which this information is extracted that the value of any given pearl was appraised almost exclusively with reference to its size, and was held to be affected but little by its shape and lustre. The valuation over, the Dutch generally bought the finest pearls. They considered that they had a right of pre-emption: at the same time they did not compel individuals to sell if unwilling. All the pearls taken on the first day belonged by express reservation to the King or to the Sêthupati, according as the place of their taking lay off the coasts of the one or the other. The Dutch did not, as was often asserted, claim the pearls taken on the second day. They had other and more certain modes of making profit, of which the very best was to bring plenty of cash into a market where cash was not plentiful and so enable themselves to purchase at very easy prices.

slight reverse or a quarrel amongst its leaders would turn it within a very few days into a disorganized rabble, and perhaps cause it to melt away bit by bit in the very presence of the enemy. And what was true of the Madura army was probably true of that of Tanjore. But the Râmnâd army was differently constituted, and was animated by an entirely different spirit. Both soldiers and officers were nearly all of one caste, namely the Marava; and the few of them who were not Maravans, belonged to the allied caste of the Ahambadiyans. There were therefore no dissensions and jealousies amongst them originating in matters of caste. And as they were the descendants of countless generations of men who had from time immemorial lived in and bled for one and the same small tract of country, they were no doubt incited to resist invasion by a spirit of true patriotism such as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stirred the hearts of few if any of the nations located in South India. Then again though not strictly speaking a warrior caste, the Maravans were a caste which had always been accustomed to a martial and adventurous mode of life; and their traditions were connected with the commission of murders robbery and deeds of violence of every kind rather than with the peaceful and unexciting incidents of agriculture and commerce: and they therefore formed far better materials for an army than any of the Tamil castes of Madura, and probably than any of the foreign. And lastly it generally happened that most of the principal Maravans were connected with the Sêthupati and with one another both by blood and by marriage; and accordingly when they were called upon by their natural head and protector to fight against an invader, they marched to battle like a numerous band of brothers led by a common father, and were able to forget for the moment all petty animosities and feuds.

The following passage from a Jesuit letter shows how the Râmnâd army was manned and officered:—

“Presque toutes les bourgades et les terres du Marava sont possédées par les plus riches du pays, moyennant un certain nombre de soldats qu'ils sont obligés de fournir au prince toutes les fois qu'il en a besoin. Ces seigneurs sont révocables au gré du prince: leurs soldats sont leurs parents, leurs amis ou leurs esclaves, qui cultivent les terres dépendantes de la peuplade, et qui prennent les armes dès qu'ils sont requis. De cette manière, le prince du Marava peut mettre sur pied, en moins de huit jours, jusqu'à trente et quarante mille hommes, et par-là il se fait redouter des princes ses voisins; il a même secoué le joug du roi de Maduré dont il était tributaire.”

CHAPTER X.

 FROM A.D. 1705 TO A.D. 1741.

long and uninteresting reign.—Vijaya Ranga Choka Nâtha's absurd liberality.—The weakness of his government.—Marava affairs.—Works of irrigation.—Famine.—The price of grain.—The drought of 1709.—The great inundation.—The death of the Kilavan.—Satt.—Disturbances.—End of the long famine.—Wars in the Marava country.—Thandâ Têvan and Bavâni Sankara.—The Râmnâd kingdom divided.—The Râyar of Chandragiri.—The King dies.—The political situation.—His widow Mînâkshi adopts a son.—The party against her.—The second pattam.—Vangâru Tirumala's claims.—Another Mahometan attack.—Tanjore is taken.—Vangâru Tirumala seeks the assistance of Safdar Ali Khân.—The award.—The Queen calls in Chandâ Sahêb.—His oath.—He is disconcerted.—He leaves Trichinopoly and returns.—Operations against Madura.—The battle of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-âr.—Vangâru Tirumala flees.—Chandâ Sahêb throws off the mask.—The Queen takes

long and uninteresting reign.—*Vijaya Ranga Choka Nâtha's absurd liberality.*—*The weakness of his government.*—*Marava affairs.*—*Works of irrigation.*—*Famine.*—*The price of grain.*—*The drought of 1709.*—*The great inundation.*—*The death of the Kilavan.*—*Satî.*—*Disturbances.*—*End of the long famine.*—*Wars in the Marava country.*—*Thandâ Têvan and Bavâni Sankara.*—*The Râmnâd kingdom divided.*—*The Râyar of Chandragiri.*—*The King dies.*—*The political situation.*—*His widow Mînâkshi adopts a son.*—*The party against her.*—*The second pattam.*—*Vangâru Tirumala's claims.*—*Another Mahometan attack.*—*Tanjore is taken.*—*Vangâru Tirumala seeks the assistance of Safdar Ali Khân.*—*The award.*—*The Queen calls in Chandâ Sahêb.*—*His oath.*—*He is disconcerted.*—*He leaves Trichinopoly and returns.*—*Operations against Madura.*—*The battle of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-âr.*—*Vangâru Tirumala flees.*—*Chandâ Sahêb throws off the mask.*—*The Queen takes poison.*—*The Mahrattas are called in.*—*The defeat and death of Daust Ali.*—*The fall of Trichinopoly and capture of Chandâ Sahêb.*—*The kingdom finally falls to pieces.*

we have now come to the end of that series of Jesuit letters which usefully illustrates the modern political history of Madura, and from this time forward we shall have to rely almost entirely upon native MSS. and the secondary evidence afforded by English historians. And curiously enough the nearer we approach the period of the commencement of British ascendancy in the south, the more meagre and unsatisfactory will our information become.

Vijaya Ranga Choka Nâtha's long reign which commenced about

Whilst the Madura kingdom was suffering from misrule, the Marava was kept in good order by the strong hand of the Kilavan. It will be remembered that in 1702 he succeeded in completely shaking off the yoke of Madura: in 1709 he again distinguished himself by gaining a signal victory over the King of Tanjore. It appears that for some few years the Marava country had been suffering from extraordinary drought and heat which brought about famine and epidemics, and it was in consequence reduced to a state of great desolation and weakness. The King of Tanjore thought to take advantage of the opportunity by invading his old enemy's dominions; but he was repulsed with loss and compelled to sue for peace.

That the famine which raged at this time was not brought about by carelessness and improvidence on the part of the Sêthupati's government or by the want of works of irrigation, but was attributable solely to a deficient rain-fall, is clearly shown by the following interesting passage from a letter of Father Martin, dated Marava, 1713.

"On ne prend nulle part autant de précautions que dans le Marava, pour ne pas laisser échapper une goutte d'eau, et pour ramasser toute celle des ruisseaux et des torrents que forment les pluies. On y voit une assez grande rivière appelée *Vaïarou*. Après avoir traversé une partie du Maduré, elle entre dans le Marava, et quand elle remplit bien son lit, ce qui arrive d'ordinaire pendant un mois entier chaque année, elle est aussi grosse que la Seine. Cependant par le moyen des canaux creusés par nos Indiens, et qui vont aboutir fort loin à leurs étangs, ils saignent tellement cette rivière de tous les côtés, qu'elle s'y perd entièrement, et n'arrive à son embouchure, qu'après avoir mis plusieurs semaines à remplir les nombreux réservoirs vers lesquels on l'a détournée.

"Les étangs les plus communs ont une demi-lieue de levée: il y en a d'autres qui ont une lieue et plus. J'en ai vu trois qui ont plus de trois lieues. Un seul de ces étangs fournit assez d'eau pour arroser les campagnes de plus de soixante peuplades. Comme le riz veut toujours avoir le pied dans l'eau jusqu'à ce qu'il ait acquis sa parfaite maturité, lorsqu'après la première récolte il reste encore de l'eau dans les étangs, on fume les terres, et on les ensemeince de nouveau: car tout le temps de l'année est propre à faire croître le riz, pourvu que l'eau ne lui manque pas."

The last words of this quotation have been put in Italics by me, as

In consequence of this visitation the famine raged in the Marava country more furiously than ever in 1710; and numbers emigrated to Tanjore and Madura. And the misery of the people was aggravated in no slight degree by the death of the Kilavan, and the disturbances by which it was as a matter of course attended. The veteran died aged upwards of eighty, and after a reign of a quarter of a century. During the latter portion of this period his animosity against Christianity had either given way to a better feeling or had remained inactive; and at no time since the foundation of the Madura Mission had the missionaries so much to be thankful for as they had in this period. There seems to have been no active persecution, and the work of converting the heathen went on more busily than ever.

The death of the Kilavan was followed by one of those painful spectacles in which the misguided spirit of Hindûism so much delights. No fewer than forty-seven of his wives burnt themselves, I should perhaps more correctly say were burnt upon his funeral pile. A large and deep ditch was dug at some little distance from the town of Râmnâd, and nearly filled up with a vast quantity of wood; and at the proper moment the body of the dead Prince richly clothed and adorned was laid upon the top of the pile, which was

then set fire to at the bottom in many places, whilst divers ceremonies were performed by the attendant Brāhmans. When the lower part of the pile had begun to burn briskly the troop of victims drew near to what was to be their sacrificial altar, all covered from head to foot with jewels and crowned with garlands of flowers, and began to move round the pit in procession. Shortly afterwards the chief widow held up aloft the sword which her departed lord had been accustomed to carry, and addressing his successor spoke the following words: "See here," said she, "the weapon with which our King was wont to triumph over his enemies: be you careful never to use it for any other purpose, and above all never to stain it with the blood of your subjects. Govern them as he governed them, like a father; and like him you will live happily for many years. As for me, since he is no more there is nothing left that should keep me in this world, and I have but to follow him whither he is gone." With these words she placed the sword in the hands of the new King, who received it without betraying any signs of emotion, and then with a wild cry threw herself boldly on the pile, calling loudly upon the names of her Gods.

The second widow was a Kalla woman, the sister of the Tondiman Rāja of Puthu Kōttei, who as has been shown above was appointed by the Kilavan soon after the commencement of his reign. He was present on this occasion, and had to take from his sister the jewels with which she was adorned: and whilst so doing he could not restrain his tears. Throwing himself upon her bosom he embraced her with the tenderest affection: but the unhappy woman appeared

to be all unmoved ; and after looking for a few moments now at the pile now at the attendants, and crying out now and again O ! Siva, Siva, threw herself on the burning mass with the same boldness as the first.

The other widows followed one by one : some going to meet their death with a firm countenance, others with an air of abstraction and bewilderment. One only more timid than her fellows ran and threw herself on the neck of a Christian soldier who was standing by and implored him to save her. But her entreaties were ineffectual. The man was violating the explicit orders of his priests in being present at this ceremony, and being alarmed at public attention being attracted to him shook off the unfortunate woman with so great violence that she lost her balance and fell headlong into the pit. At

the same moment he hastily withdrew, his whole frame shivering with a presentiment of coming evil, and barely reached his home before he was attacked by a raging fever which a few hours afterwards ended his life.

Whatever boldness was exhibited by these wretched women in throwing themselves upon the top of the pile, they no sooner felt the heat of the furnace beneath them than they began to make frantic efforts to escape their doom. Hurrying to and fro, struggling and fighting, tumbling one over another, they vainly endeavoured to reach the edge of the pile; and filled the air the while with ear-piercing screams and groans. And in order to smother their cries, and at the same time accelerate the burning of the mass, it became necessary to throw heaps of heavy faggots upon the heads of the victims. After this their voices grew more and more feeble; and at last were altogether lost in the crackling and roaring of the flames. When all the bodies had been consumed the Brâhmans drew near to the still smoking pile, and after performing more ceremonies collected the charred bones and ashes, and having carefully wrapped them in rich cloths carried them to the island of Ramêshwara and there threw them into the sea. After this the pit was filled up; and a temple was erected over its site in honor of the departed King and his wives.

It is stated by Father Martin that at the time when the Kilavan's widows burnt themselves, *Satî* was practised only by the wives and concubines of Princes; and that women of ordinary rank, whether Brâhmans or not, were not required by the custom of the country to follow their husbands to the grave. Women of the Râja caste sometimes indulged a morbid vanity by performing the act of self-cremation; affecting to believe that they were descended from the ancient sovereigns of India, and therefore bound in honor to follow the custom of their ancestors. And still more rarely Brâhman widows thought proper to go through the ceremony. Amongst other castes the practice was almost unknown. Father Martin further gives it as his opinion that women of princely rank could hardly avoid *Satî* without disgrace and total loss of honor; and that those who hesitated to act in accordance with the custom of their caste were overcome by the incessant entreaties and remonstrances of their relations; and if their courage failed them, they were plied with certain liquors which removed from them all apprehension of death. It is observable that these remarks upon *Satî* made in 1713 agree very closely

Shortly before his death the Kilavan had nominated as his successor one Bavâni Sankara Têvan, an illegitimate son by a favorite concubine. But the nomination was not approved of by the Maravans, and the old Sêthupati was compelled to sanction the choice of the people which fell upon one Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha ; who was accordingly crowned Sêthupati. It appears from the Jesuit letters that this man was the younger son of the Kilavan, and brother of that Vaduga Nât'ha of whom mention has been made at page 224 ante; and that the latter was set aside in favor of the former as being less able and fit to rule than his brother. It seems probable, however, that neither of these Princes was a natural son of the Kilavan, as he would scarcely have nominated a bastard in preference to his own son, and would hardly have passed over the elder son in favor of the younger, when the ability of that elder son to rule had been admitted by the Kilavan in appointing him governor of Oreiyûr, and afterwards of the important province of Arundângi and the very considerable territories attached thereto. Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum makes Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha to have been the adopted son of the Kilavan, and no doubt this was so.

Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha was ardently attached to Hindûism, and became an unrelenting persecutor of Christianity ; though he never went to the same length as the Kilavan. But his brother was always an active patron of the missionaries, and it would appear that after the death of the Kilavan Vaduga Nât'ha became a convert.

The year 1720 brought with it the cessation of a famine which appears to have lasted for a long series of years ; and perhaps commenced in the terrible year 1709, the year of the great storm and inundation. An abundant harvest was gathered in, and the people speedily forgot their troubles. But the country was thrown into confusion once more by the illness and death of the Sêthupati. The Râja of Puthu Kôttei incited no doubt by Bavâni Sankara Têvan had entered into an alli-

ance with the King of Tanjore, and declared war against his Lord : and the Sêthupati was compelled to march out to Arundângi to give battle to his enemies. Whilst he was carrying on operations with very indifferent success in the neighbourhood of that fortress, a grievous epidemic broke out in his camp, which within a few days carried off eight of his children and some of his wives, and at last attacked and prostrated him. He was carried back to Râmnâd and appears to have temporarily recovered from the effects of his malady : but if so, a relapse ensued and he died not very long afterwards, having first appointed one Thandâ Têvan who was a great grandson of the father of the Kilavan to be his successor. Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'hâ is said to have married no less than three hundred and sixty wives, and to have had as many as a hundred children born to him by them and by various concubines : and yet he left no heir of his body. All his legitimate children seem to have been carried off by disease ; and the Jesuits sincerely believed that his misfortunes were brought on his head by his cruelty towards Christians.

Thandâ Têvan was not permitted to mount the throne without opposition. Bavâni Sankara Têvan, who it will be remembered had been nominated as his successor by the Kilavan but set aside as being a bastard, now came forward and claimed the succession : and as he had married a niece of the deceased Sêthupati's chief concubine, and was strongly supported by his mother-in-law, he contrived to procure his coronation by the principal Maravans. Upon this Thandâ Têvan applied for assistance to the King of Madura and also to the Tondiman Râja of Puthu Kôttei, promising to cede to the latter, if successful, the districts dependant on the forts of Kîranilei and Tirumayang Kôttei. He obtained the required assistance within a few days, and proceeded to closely besiege his rival in Arundângi : and the latter feeling that he was unable to cope with the forces arrayed against him, gave up the contest for a time and fled to Tanjore. Having succeeded in gaining the favor of the King of that country by promising to cede to him the territories north of the Pâmbâr, Bavâni Sankara was enabled within two or three months after his flight from Arundângi to invade the Râmnâd country. As soon as he became aware of his adversary's movements, Thandâ had called to his assistance the allies, by means of whom he had been raised to the throne : and the King of Madura, or more probably one of his ministers, had sent a small body of men to protect the northern frontier of Râmnâd, whilst the Tondiman Râja put his troops in motion and finally encamped them at a little

distance from his allies. But the Tanjorean General who accompanied Bavâni Sankara soon disposed of these obstacles in his path. He first fell on the Madura troops, who fled at once without offering the slightest resistance; and then attacked the Tondiman, and having succeeded in taking his two sons prisoners compelled him to sue for peace. The invaders then besieged Râmnâd; and having effected an entry into the fort by mining, seized the unhappy Sêthupati and some of his supporters and put them to death.

Bavâni Sankara thus became Sêthupati a second time; and reigned till about the year 1729, when he was in his turn deposed under the following circumstances. It appears that he foolishly quarreled with some of his Poligars, and amongst others with Seshavarna Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, a famous chieftain who was connected with him by marriage, and was the descendant of a Poligar who conspired with the Tambi against the Dalavây. Seshavarna was driven out of his pâleiyam, and fled to Tanjore; where he ingratiated himself with the King by slaying single-handed a very large and ferocious tiger. And he found there Kattaya Têvan, the maternal uncle of the late Sêthupati who had escaped from Râmnâd at the time of its capture by Bavâni Sankara, and was now a refugee like himself. The two companions in misfortune soon became fast friends, and resolved to join in an attempt to overthrow the usurper of the Râmnâd crown. The King of Tanjore was requested to furnish them with troops and money; and agreed to help them on the usual condition, namely that of a cession of the provinces north of the Pâmbâr. Bavâni Sankara had omitted to make over these territories in accordance with the agreement entered into by him before he became Sêthupati: and the King of Tanjore thought that if the confederates succeeded through his assistance in conquering the Sêthupati, he, the Râja, would be able to obtain his ends far more easily than if a single ruler reigned over the Râmnâd country. The Dalavây of Tanjore was accordingly despatched with an army to depose the Sêthupati and re-instate the exiles: and a battle was fought at Oreiyûr in which the Sêthupati was defeated and made prisoner. He was then carried off to Tanjore, and after being vehemently reproached for his breach of faith thrown into prison.

After this decisive success the confederates parcelled out the lands of the Râmnâd kingdom amongst themselves in the following manner. The King of Tanjore took all the lands north of the Pâmbâr. And

the remainder was divided into five parts, of which three were assigned to Kattaya Têvan, who became Sêthupati with the title of Kumâra Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha: and two parts were made over to Seshavarua Têvan, who assumed the title of Râja Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, though he was more commonly known as the Nâl-Kôttei-Udeiyâ-Têvan from being the possessor of four fortresses. He was subsequently styled the Râja of Sivagangei.

A very interesting copper Sâsanam, of which Mr. Fischer the lessee of the Sivagangei Zamindâri kindly furnished me with a copy, and which purports to have been engraved in the S. S. 1655 or A. D. 1733, states that Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, the son of Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, and son-in-law of the Hiraniya Garb'ha Arasupati Rag'hu Nât'ha Sêthupati, was amongst other things the owner of the fertile lands on the banks of the Veigei, the owner of the Sembiya Vala Nâdu, and the master of the harbour of Tondi; that in consequence of the advice of a certain Gnyâni (in whose favor was made the grant of which the Sâsanam is the memorial) he went to Tanjore and there killed a tiger, and having returned from that country conquered Bavâni Sankara Têvan; and afterwards dug a tank at the spring near which he first saw the Gnyâni and received advice from him, and called the said tank Sivagangei or the water of Siva. The Sâsanam also calls him the *arasu-nilei ittavan* or founder of the monarchy, i. e., of the Sivagangei monarchy; the *Chôla-mandala-chanda-prachanda* or all powerful in the Chôla country; and *Pândi-mandala-St'hâpanâchârya* or establisher of the Pândya kingdom. Altogether the Sâsanam corroborates very strongly the history recorded in Periya Tâman's memorandum and is very valuable as helping to fix the date of the final dismemberment of the Râmnâd kingdom, and the rise of the present Sivagangei Zamindâri.

We must now revert to the affairs of the Madura kingdom. As stated above, the reign of Vijaya Ranga Choka Nât'ha seems to have been distinguished only by an absurd liberality to Brâhmans and Churches; and the history of the Karnataca Governors says nothing more about him than that he gave many gifts to Srîrang'ham and many other sacred places. But an unrecorded event of importance seems to have occurred during his time, namely the subjection of the kingdom to the Râyar of Chandragiri. Two Telugu copper Sâsanams

He is said to have assembled a force of eight thousand cavalry and some infantry, and to have despatched them under the command of two Brâhmans of the Queen's party, Gôvindayya and Râvanayya with instructions to commence operations by gaining possession of the fort of Dindigul. The troops stationed in the neighbourhood were defeated or forced to retire; and it was very speedily taken by storm. The army then marched upon Madura, and as a last hope Vangâru Tirumala hastily collected a few troops, horse and foot, and sent them to Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr to oppose an enemy four times as numerous: leaving the capital completely unprotected. A battle was soon afterwards fought; and the Madura troops being reinforced by those of a few Poligars, seem to have made a determined stand: but their leaders were both killed after having fought bravely for some hours, and after this misfortune no further resistance was offered to the invaders. There was now nothing to stop Chandâ Sahêb's victorious Generals; and as they were about to enter Madura, Vangâru Tirumala hastily quitted it and fled for protection to the Râja of Sivagangei, by whom he was kindly received and placed for safety in the fort of Vellei-Kurichi. The whole country was then overrun by Chandâ Sahêb's troops, and speedily reduced to at least nominal submission.

improbable in itself: but we have the authority of the Mission du Maduré for the statement that after the death of Daust Ali the Mahrattas "spread carnage and desolation over the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura." And as Vangâru Tirumala was protected by the Râja of Sivangangei or Shevagunga as the English call it, and invited the Mahrattas to come and help him, nothing could be more natural than to suppose that they marched to Sivagangei and had an interview with the pretender before laying siege to the town occupied by the usurper of the Madura kingdom.

The fall of Trichinopoly in March 1741 and the capture of its master had been preceded by the death of Bada Sahêb the governor of Madura, and that of another brother of Chandâ Sahêb, named according to Orme Saduck Sahêb, who had been appointed to the command of the fort of Dindigal and was killed in attempting to succour Chandâ Sahêb. Accordingly the kingdom of Madura was now reduced to a state of complete anarchy, from which it was rescued only to be finally dismembered and divided amongst a number of petty chiefs and adventurers. But little needs to be told of the deeds of these men, and one more chapter will bring us down

Madura. The siege of Seringe is forgotten. The expedition of General Joseph Smith.—Mâpillei Tévan's disturbances.—Sivagangei affairs.—The Murdus—Description of the country in 1785.—The Kalla country.—State of Christianity.—Relapse of the Kallans—The great Beschi.—His works.

THE political history of the Madura kingdom as such has now come to an end : it only remains for me to trace as closely as circumstances will permit the events which took place between 1741 and 1801 in the several fragments into which the kingdom was split up ; or rather of those fragments which are at present comprised in the Collectorate of Madura. It will be the business of other servants of the Government to write hereafter the history of Salem, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, Puthu Kôttei, Tinnevely and other provinces which once belonged to the Pândya-mandalam : and it would be a mere waste of time and labour on my part to attempt without possessing any local knowledge of those provinces to give their history.

Before commencing what will be it is to be feared a very meagre and unsatisfactory account of a period remarkable for nothing but a wearisome state of anarchy and confusion, the monotony of which was but slightly varied at intervals by various fortresses changing hands after more or less bloodshed and treachery, it is necessary to remark that in future the names Madura, Dindigul, and others will be used to denote towns only without any reference being made to tracts of country.

After taking Trichinopoly the Mahratta leader Rag'huji B'honslai appointed Morâri Raû to be its governor temporarily ; and the latter appointed Appâji Raû to be the governor of the less important fortress of Madura. The only recorded act of the new governor was the bringing back to Madura of the idols which had been removed to Mâna Madura for safety when Chandâ Sahêb usurped the government of the country : and it seems probable that he was a man of subordinate position, who had neither the means nor the authority to do anything beyond keeping the fort safely and collecting the revenues of a small tract of country. We may assume without hesitation that the Poligars paid no attention to his commands, if he was foolish enough to issue any to them : and there is nothing to show that he was in possession of any part of the country in the neighbourhood of Tinne-

possession in behalf of the Râja of Mysore, and was soon afterwards driven out by Velliyan Sêrveikâran the Dalavây of the Sêthupati, and Tândavarâya Pillei the Minister of Sivangangei. It is stated that these two besieged him from the 30th of the month Pirattâsi to the 20th of Kârtikei 1752-53, and on that day succeeded in forcing him to capitulate: and that they thereupon crowned the adopted son of Minâkshi, and established him in Madura. He ruled for sixteen months, and was deposed by there Mahometan Captains: who were shortly afterwards besieged and forced to give up the fort by Captain Cope and the Dalavây of Râmnâd, who had entered into an offensive alliance against them. This account seems to be at first sight highly improbable. Why should Captain Cope be described as being in the service of the Râja of Mysore? And why should he enter into an alliance with the Dalavây of Râmnâd? And then the mere fact of the account being opposed to that given by Orme renders it very suspicious, not to say incredible. But on the other hand the *Srî-tâla* book contains a piece of evidence which is exceedingly favorable to the credibility of its account of Captain Cope's acts. It states incidentally that he polluted the town by causing many cows to be killed and eaten within its walls. This was a crime which none but an European would commit, and the commission of which a native historian would hardly record without good reason. And the account is directly corroborated by the Record Office MS., and by a memoir furnished to me by a Mahometan gentleman; and indirectly by other MSS: whilst however improbable it may appear to be at first sight, it is in no way inconsistent with the course of events which are known to have occurred about this time.

The Record Office MS. states that Mayana sold the country to the Mysoreans and then retired into private life and lived in the fortress

The Record Office MS. states that Mayana sold the country to the Mysoreans, and then retired into private life and lived in the fortress of Tirumbûr: and that Kukku Sahêb, a Mysorean General, took possession of Madura; and was compelled to surrender the fort to Tândavarâya Pillei and Velliyan Sêrvei, after fighting with them during the period stated in the Sri-tâla book. And it then speaks of the coronation and reign of Vangâru Tirumala's son, and of his subsequent expulsion by the Mahometans; and of the defeat of those Captains by the Râmnâd Dalavây: but says nothing about Captain Cope's alliance with the Dalavây.

All the native MSS. apparently concur with Orme in stating that after ruling Madura for a year, Allum Khân went to Trichinopoly to take part in the war that was going on round that fortress at the

However this may have been, whether Captain Cope was hood-winked, or whether he was guilty of treacherous and unsoldierlike conduct, and whether or not he took possession of Madura, I think there can be no doubt that in the year 1752 the adopted son of Minâkshi was declared king of the Pândya-mandalam by Mayana and his colleagues, assisted by the governments of Râmnâd and Sivagangei: and enjoyed a species of mock sovereignty for some few months. He was then deposed and sent back to Vellei-Kurichi by his Mahometan patrons, who seem to have been bought over by Mohammad Ali. Orme states that Mohammad Ali produced as evidence of his title to the sovereignty of Madura and Tinnevely a writing which purported to have been signed by Mayana, Mohammad Barki, and Nabi Khân, and was dated the 29th November 1752; and it would seem to be not unlikely that this document, which acknowledged the justice of

Mohammad Ali's claims, was executed shortly before Mayana found it convenient to relegate his client to the obscurity from out of which he had dragged him. Mayana is said to have been in his turn expelled by the Dalavây of Râmnâd : but whether this is true or not it is impossible to say. According to Orme Mohammad Barki was in possession of Madura in 1755. Perhaps although he was attacked and defeated by the Râmnâd Dalavây, he was nevertheless permitted to retain Madura as a tributary and vassal of Râmnâd, and on condition that he disavowed Mohammad Ali's authority. Orme states that the Poligar of Maravar, by whom I suppose he means the Sêthupati, sided with Chandâ Sahêb and the Mysoreans against Mohammad Ali ; and it is therefore quite possible that he attacked Mayana, when Mayana changed sides and sold himself to the Nabob.

In the beginning of 1755 another expedition was sent by Mohammad Ali against Madura and Tinnevely, consisting of five hundred Europeans and two thousand Sepoys furnished by the Honorable Company, and commanded by Colonel Heron an officer newly arrived from England, and one thousand horse commanded by Mak'hphûz Khân, the Nabob's elder brother. The operations of these forces are described at length by Orme, and it will be sufficient for me to notice only a few of them very briefly.

As soon as the English appeared in sight of Madura, the gates were thrown open to them without any resistance being offered and apparently without any treachery being employed. A deputation from the Sêthupati awaited their arrival ; and Colonel Heron was induced by the promises held out to him to enter into an alliance with that chief, upon his own responsibility and without waiting for orders from Madras. After the business was concluded, it was resolved to forthwith attack Mayana the Governor of Madura, who had fled to Kânilâdi a place a few miles west of Madura, and

After vainly endeavouring to come to terms with Mak'hphûz Khân, Mohammad Yûsuf marched with a considerable force to Tinnevely. No great results were obtained by him. Disturbances everywhere prevailed. The Kallans ravaged the country in every direction. The great Hyder Ali invaded the district round Madura; and was with difficulty beaten off. And lastly no revenues worth speaking of could be collected. Captain Calliaud was therefore sent after awhile to report upon the state of the country. His representations speedily convinced the Council at Madras that no permanent settlement of the country could be hoped for so long as Mak'hphûz Khân was permitted to remain in it, arrogating to himself all kinds of power and authority and maintaining an armed force; and it was accordingly proposed to the Nabob that his brother should be induced to quit the south by the promise of an adequate maintenance. The Nabob sent an agent to his brother in the Tinnevely country, with authority to make certain proposals to him: but nothing came of the attempt. Mak'hphûz Khân was a man of a foolish and stubborn of their subsistence. The Kallans on the north and Poligars on the west ravaged unchecked whatever lands were cultivated between their boundaries and the tracts close to Madura: and in the south things were if possible in a still worse state, as Mak'hphûz Khân had thrown himself entirely into the arms of the principal of the rebel Poligars, and there was no longer any hope of bringing him to reason. The Company thought proper in these circumstances to grant the farm of both the Madura and Tinnevely countries to Mohammad Yûsuf for one year for the very moderate sum of five lacs. He returned to his charge in the spring of 1759, and having resolved to apply strong remedies to the evils from which it was suffering, commenced his work by falling savagely on the Kallans of Nattam. Avenues were cut through their woods, and as they attempted to escape, sharpshooters posted in advantageous situa-

Mohammad Yûsuf continued to govern the Madura country for some time longer, and appears to have made himself exceedingly powerful. The memoirs furnished to me by Ponnusâmi Têvan and another furnished by a Mahometan gentleman agree in stating that he conquered all the Poligars without exception, and exacted tribute from the King of Travancore, and he overran the Sivagangei and Râmnâd countries. But these successes brought no profit to the Honorable Company's government. Either the expenses of Mohammad Yûsuf's administration were too great to admit of him acting up to his pecuniary engagements, or he thought he might render himself sufficiently strong to maintain himself in independence, and acting in accordance with the long established and almost unvarying custom of India delayed remitting tribute to his Lord until his Lord came with an overpowering army to enforce obedience and collect arrears.

This event happened towards the end of 1762. A considerable force was sent against him, and he was regularly besieged in his capital by an army of Englishmen Mahometans and Maravans. The

Sêthupati, the Tondiman, and the Râja of Sivagangei combined against him together with many of the Poligars ; and the unfortunate man found himself without a friend. Unappalled by this formidable array against him, Mohammad Yûsuf defended himself with the greatest energy and skill : and at the end of eight or nine months the besiegers found that they had made but little progress. But treachery effected what force could not effect : and the gallant soldier who had served in so many campaigns, always with marked distinction, was seized by a confidential servant and given over to his enemies ; who in May 1763 with a want of mercy which at this time seems all but inexcusable, hung him like a dog.

The history of the career of this remarkable man as preserved by tradition is very peculiar and interesting. According to one of Ponnusâmi Têvan's memoirs which as observed before are generally very fairly accurate, Mohammad Yûsuf Khân, better known in Madura by the name of Gaun Sâh Kummanthân (Khân Sahêb, Commandant) was a Hindû of the Vellâla caste born in Paniyûr in the Râmnâd country. In his youth he was wild and disobedient to his parents, and eventually ran away to Pondicherry and served under a European for three years and a half, at the end of which period he committed some great fault which led to his immediate dismissal. After this he served under a Mr. Brunton, who took great pains with his education, and had him instructed in several languages. Next he entered the service of the Nabob, and being a man of great ability rapidly rose from being a Tandalgâr and then a toll-collector, and next a Sepoy to the posts of Naigue, Havildar and Subahdar. In the course of time he greatly distinguished himself against Bada Sahêb at Saint Thomas' Mount, and was promised the governorship of the southern countries. At Arcot he married a Parangi woman. Subsequently he came to Madura, chastised the Kallans and Poligars, and reduced the whole of the south to submission with the exception of the Marava Râjas. He began to plan the conquest of these countries also, and it was in consequence of the representations made to the Nabob and to the English at Trichinopoly by the ministers of Râmnâd and Sivagangei that the Nabob resolved to bring a large army against his vassal, and finally hung him. It is also stated that Mohammad Yûsuf carried a magical ball of gold in the flesh of his right arm, and was thereby rendered safe from all bodily harm : constantly when he was dropped from the gallows the rope broke, when he was dropped a second time the rope broke a second

THE ABOVE IS THE ONLY AVAILABLE INFORMATION CONCERNING THE HISTORY of the Dindigul country between the years 1740 and 1790: we must now see what happened in the Marava countries during the same period.

It will be remembered that somewhere about the year 1730 the ancient kingdom of Râmnâd was divided into five parts, after Tanjore had taken the northern provinces; and that Kattaya Têvan took three of them, and Seshavarna Têvan two. Soon after this event the Sêthupati seems to have acquired the name of the Periya or elder Maravan; whilst the Râja of Sivagangei was known as the Chinna or younger Maravan: and English writers of the eighteenth century always speak of the greater and lesser Marava Poligars and countries. And the two countries were called by the Tamils the Periya and Chinna or great and little *Vadakkeis* or divisions.

It is stated in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum that soon after the division took place the two Maravans joined their forces and attacked Tanjore, with the object of recovering the provinces which had been annexed by the Râja as the price of his intervention in their behalf: and that this disgraceful breach of faith having been rewarded with success, the Maravans shared the recovered territories.

The Sêthupati's Dalavây, Vellian-Sêrveikâran, seems to have been a man of great energy and ability, and to have succeeded in getting all the power of the Râmnâd government into his own hands; and whilst his name is occasionally mentioned in history that of his master is never heard of after his accession to the throne.

Kattaya Têvan died probably about the year 1752; and his son

was thereupon crowned. He died after reigning for only a few days or weeks; and then Vellian Sérveikâran crowned Râkka Têvan, a cousin of the deceased Kattaya. Immediately afterwards the Râja of Tanjore invaded the Râmnâd country: but he was at once repulsed by the Dalavây.

In 1752, according to Orme, the Sêthupati sent 4,000 Peons and Kallans to the assistance of Chandâ Sahêb: whilst his old rival and enemy the Râja of Tanjore assisted the Nabob with 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot under the command of his General Monackjee; and the Tondiman Râja assisted him with 400 horse and 3,000 Kallans.

The part taken by Vellian Sérveikâran in setting up the adopted son of Mînâkshi on the throne of Madura in 1752 has been already shown. It was probably during the short reign of that unfortunate prince that the Râmnâd Dalavây made an expedition into the south, and attempted to reduce the Poligars to submission, and restore order throughout the Madura kingdom. It is said that he subdued all the Poligars but the Ettiyapuram, who was venerated as a Guru, and was (presumably) spared on that account. And a curious circumstance is recorded in connection with Vellian Sérveikâran's raid amongst the Poligars, which ought not to be passed over without notice. It appears from Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum that in order to show his superiority over those whom he defeated, he, like other Dalavâys, used to cause mud to be prepared and thrown on the ground in front of his seat; and etiquette required the Poligars who came to pay their respects to him and receive his orders, to prostrate themselves at full length in the mud on approaching the presence. One is scarcely prepared for such an exhibition of arro-

gance on the part of the Dalavâys and still less on the part of the Dalavây of Râmnâd. It seems to be inferrible however from the memorandum that Vellian Sêrveikâran was the first minister of Râmnâd who attained the exalted titles of Dalavây and Kârbâr, and possibly it was owing to his head being turned by his successes and by the acquisition of these dignities that he was induced to behave in this fashion.

An intrigue of which the particulars are not known resulted in an attempt to ruin the successful Dalavây: and he was recalled from Tinnevely to Râmnâd. Here he turned the tables on his adversaries; and rebelled against the Sêthupati, who fled for safety to the fort of Pâmbam. The Dalavây assembled some troops; took the

fort; and imprisoned the Sêthupati. And having deposed him, raised to the throne a member of the Kilayan's family named Sella or Vijaya Rag'hunâtha Têvan. During the reign of this Sêthupati which is said to have lasted six years the Râja of Tanjore again invaded Râmnâd: and was again defeated by the able Dalavây.

And in 1755 occurred Colonel Heron's expedition to Madura, on which occasion a deputy of the Sêthupati waited on the English commander and after asking his pardon for the mistake committed by the Sêthupati in siding with Chandâ Sahêb, induced him eventually to enter into an alliance with his master; which however was shortly afterwards repudiated by the authorities at Madras in consequence of the strong representations made by their allies the Tondiman and Râja of Tanjore.

Sella Têvan died about the year 1760, and was succeeded by his nephew Muttu Râmalinga Sêthupati, a child of two months.

Vellian Sêrveikâran seems to have died about this time; and was succeeded in office by a man named Thomôtharam Pillei. And the mother of the infant Sêthupati, Muttu Tiruvây Nâtchiyâr, seems to have acted as Regent.

Whether the Nabob Mohammad Ali undertook any expedition against the Sêthupati before the time of Mohammad Yûsuf, does not appear: I think it may be concluded however that he did not. It is perfectly clear that nothing was done against him before Colonel Heron's expedition, or he would not have been anxious to enter into an alliance with the English. And the state of things in the south between 1755 and 1760 was such that no attempt to reduce to submission so powerful a chief as Vellian Sêrveikâran could have been thought of by the Nabob's subordinates. It was probably after the death of this minister, and at the commencement of the regency in the year 1760 or thereabouts that Mohammad Yûsuf first directed his attention to the State of Râmnâd, and conceived the idea of exacting tribute from the infant Sêthupati.

In 1763 as has been already shown the Dalavây Thomôtharam Pillei joined in the siege of Madura, and did what lay in his power to effect the ruin of Mohammad Yûsuf.

In 1770 the Râja of Tanjore was again defeated, this time most decisively by an army under the command of Thomôtharam Pillei: and this was the last occasion on which the troops of Râmnâd were permitted to distinguish themselves.

In 1773 the British Government sent a force into the Râmnâd country under the command of General Joseph Smith; and it was speedily reduced to submission. And the Queen Regent and the minor King were made State prisoners.

In 1785 the country was described by Colonel Fullarton as being fifty miles in length by thirty in breadth; and as being well-peopled by an industrious population, and abounding in cattle. The revenues amounted to about five lacs of Rupees per annum, and the yearly tribute to the Nabob had been fixed at the sum of Rupees 1,75,000. The country had been managed since its annexation by renters: and had been for the most part free from disturbances until the eventful year 1781; when it was overrun by a host of rebels under the leadership of one Mâpillei Têvan, a relation of the Sêthupati's family. The disturbances then excited were put an end to by the expedition of 1783 under Colonel Fullarton, to which allusion has been before made. And no event happened after that year which needs to be recorded in this Part.

Much less is known about the history of Sivagangei than about that of Râmnâd.

According to Orme the Râja of Tanjore in 1749 sent his General Monackjee into the country of the lesser Maravan in order to wrest from him the fort of Arundângi; and the Tondiman assisting him, the enterprise was successful. It does not appear who was the Râja at this time: but it seems probable that Seshavarna Têvan was dead, and that his son Muttu Vaduga Nâtha Udeiyâ Têvan had succeeded him. It also seems probable that this Râja was a man of no energy or ability; and left the entire conduct of affairs in the hands of his chief minister.

In 1752 Tândavarâya Pillei the minister of Sivagangei joined in the siege of Madura described before, and in placing Mînâkshi's adopted son upon the throne.

In 1762 and the following year he engaged in the operations against Mohammad Yûsuf.

In 1773 two dependents of the Râja, named the Periya or elder and Chinna or younger Murdu, conspired against him and apparently killed him at the battle of Kâleiyâr-kôvil. Soon afterwards the country was reduced together with that of Râmnâd: and the Râja's widow, who was at the time pregnant, escaped together with many of the principal persons in the kingdom to Mysore.

In 1781 the Murdus returned to Sivagangei at the head of a number of armed men, and being unopposed proceeded to rule the country in the name of Hyder Ali, after setting up some obscure individual as a kind of puppet Râja. In 1783 this state of things was put an end to by the Southern Army: and shortly afterwards the widow of the late Râja was appointed Zamindârni by the Nabob.

In 1785 the Sivagangei country was thus described by Colonel Fullarton :—

“The territory of Shevigunga, or the Little Marawar, stretches from the sea coast on the east to the districts of Mellore and Madura on the west, and from the country of Tondiman and the Nattam Collieries upon the north, to the territories of the Great Marawar on the south, containing about fifty miles in length and forty miles in breadth. The soil, in general, is unfriendly to the growth of corn, though not quite destitute of running streams or artificial reservoirs, but the country is overgrown with thorns and bushes. The woods of Calicoil, nearly forty miles in circumference, are secured with barriers and other defences around the fort of Calicoil, which is situated in the centre of the thickets, and considered as a refuge from exaction or invasion. These woods and the surrounding country abounded with sheep and cattle, the inhabitants are numerous, and can bring twelve thousand fighting men into the field, armed with swords, pikes, spears, and firelocks. Though less barbarous than the Collieries, their neighbours, yet arts and industry have made little progress among them. The country is capable of great improvement, but at present hardly yields more than five lacs of Rupees to the Rajah, who pays 1,75,000 Rupees to the Nabob of Arcot. The Rajah is of the Taver family, and a descendant of the sovereigns of the Great Marawar, from which Shevigunga was separated at no very distant period.”

The Kalla country or country of robbers, though considerably larger than the Madura has no history which needs to be told; if indeed it can boast of any history. Colonel Fullarton's description of it in 1785 would probably be applicable to any period except the present century during the last five hundred years; and if it was at any previous time inhabited by a peaceful and civilized population, all vestiges of that population have perished. Colonel Fullarton writes as follows :—

“ The country of the Collieries, including the territories of Tondiman, Mellore and Nattam, extends from the sea coast to the confines of Madura, in a range of sixty miles by sixty-five; with the exception of some spots, which have accidentally been cultivated, it is overgrown with thickets, and inhabited by savage tribes. Before that country can be rendered valuable, the woods must be cleared, the strongholds occupied, and the Collieries compelled to relinquish their predatory habits; for in its present condition, fertile tracts are lost to cultivation, and the wild inhabitants amounting to thirty or forty thousand men in arms, under different Chiefs, endanger public safety in moments of hostility.”

In concluding this Part of the manual I must take a final glance at the state and progress of Christianity in the Madura country during the last century. There is but little to tell. We have seen the mode in which Father Bouchet was treated by the great Dalavây. A letter of 1709 shows that the Kallans had relapsed from their temporary conversion; and in consequence of the weakness of the then Government had become so bold and wicked that even missionaries dared not traverse their country without a guide. And they were not only masters of their own country: but made life and property insecure in all the districts adjoining theirs. Gang robberies by torch-light were of nightly occurrence; and in every direction herds of cattle were lifted and murders committed by them with impunity. The Sêthupati had chastised them repeatedly; and had established forts in their country. But all was to no purpose. The garrisons were surprised and slain, and the Kallans became more troublesome than ever.

The defection of the Kallans was more than counterbalanced by successes in other quarters: and in 1713 there were upwards of a million converts. But in 1714 and the following year there was so much persecution in the Marava country that the missionaries were compelled to quit it for a time. Converts were horribly ill-used and mutilated; the Churches were destroyed; and the open profession of the true faith exposed every one to great danger. But in 1720 the Sêthupati relented, and began to treat the Christians with some little kindness and favour.

The Poligars and Kallans had been taught the danger of open disobedience to British rule by the expeditions sent against them on several occasions: but they were not yet prepared to lay aside their wild and predatory habits, much less to become steady and regular payers of tribute and rent. Accordingly we find Mr. McLeod complaining at an early period of his administration of the turbulence and want of respect for authority evinced by troublesome chieftains and by the Kallans: and their rebellious disposition was not improved by the knowledge that the English Government was engaged in a new war, the results of which no man could foresee. A letter of June 1791 shows that troops were required to maintain the Collector's authority. Another of November 1791 shows that Coimbatore with the surrounding country was then in the hands of the enemy. In February 1792 the Ideiy, Çôttei and Palani Poligars were plundering in the Coimbatore district. At the same time the Râja of Travancore was throwing all kinds of obstacles in the way of the Collector taking possession of Kambam and Gûdalûr, which undoubtedly belonged to the Dindigul district. The Chinna Maradu was engaged in plunder-